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Page 39

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MAY 1977

MORE

Who Killed George Polk?



THE PRESS COVERS UP A DEATH IN THE FAMILY

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STRAIGHT TALK FROM THE PEOPLE OF TEXACO

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"Step One. Alternate Energy.

In the relatively near term, this country's enormous reserves of coal should be put to greater use, and nuclear energy projects should be encouraged.

Step Two. Emergency Planning.

The United States needs an effective national program for the strategic storage of petroleum so that our economy cannot be crippled in time of emergency.

Step Three. Energy Conservation.

In the long term, energy conservation will best be stimulated by permitting the forces of the free market to work effectively.

Step Four. Price Controls.

All domestic price controls should be removed as quickly as possible. This will clear the way for increased domestic oil and gas production, and will permit the petroleum industry to make the long-range plans and commitments that are so necessary in this business.

Step Five. Environmental Constraints.

The U.S. must accept further reasonable accommodations between environmental objectives and energy imperatives."

For more information about Texaco's proposals for a national energy policy, write: Maurice F. Granville, Texaco Inc., P.O. Box 3146, Grand Central Station, New York, N.Y. 10017.



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ART BY TIZ—FOCUS ON SPORTS

"Something more than just racquet hitting ball all too often becomes involved. That is what is making mixed-doubles play a fresh battleground in the ancient war between the sexes."

Timothy Foote, Senior Editor

The current tennis boom has been variously described as a sports phenomenon, a social craze, a marketing miracle second only to the hula-hoop.

Leave it to TIME Magazine to discover the real significance. Mixed doubles is a psychodrama in shorts and sneakers; catharsis in catgut for

bedroom antagonisms; a primitive arena where all the cavepersons have clubs. Such an article is quintessential TIME: a nourishing confection of erudition, wit and common sense. It's the sort of writing that has won TIME more awards for editorial excellence than any other magazine.

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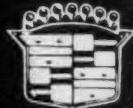
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MORE

THE MEDIA MAGAZINE

MAY 1977

VOLUME 7, NUMBER 5



WHO KILLED GEORGE POLK?

12 Who Killed George Polk?

By Yiannis P. Roubatis
and Elias Vlanton

Twenty-nine years ago, at the height of the Cold War, a CBS correspondent was murdered in Greece. Today, evidence of a massive cover-up of George Polk's death has been uncovered, implicating the Greek government, U.S. officials — and the American press — in a conspiracy of silence. The one man who went

to jail for the crime now claims his confession was extracted by torture; another who was convicted in absentia has asked for a new trial; and recently obtained documents suggest that the man who investigated the murder on behalf of the Overseas Writers Association — General William "Wild Bill" Donovan, wartime head of OSS — steered the probe away from the extreme Right.

Because of the importance of this story, MORE is devoting 18 pages of this issue to a re-examination of the Polk affair. In

addition, we are publishing:

Statements about the case from journalists who covered the story or were involved in the investigation, including James Reston, Ernest Lindley, Howard K. Smith, and Alexander Kendrick (p.24).

A short reminiscence by William Polk, George's brother, who attended the murder trial in Greece in 1949 (p.29).

The text of the report written by the Overseas Writers Committee, chaired by Walter Lippmann, which was released in 1952 and is now out of print (p.30).

39 Madison Avenue Catches The Fallen Stars

By Jonathan Black

Virgins — those chaste stars who have yet to sell their bodies to Madison Avenue — are being hotly pursued for endorsement ads. Super-agents like Lloyd Kolmer specialize in deflowering celebrities such as Edward G. Robinson. Kolmer has his eye set on holdouts Barbra Streisand and Jackie Onassis. Does every star have a price?

Soviet commissars and newspaper columnists have been getting the same treatment from the President and his press secretary. Unlike Nixon, who feared both, Carter seems to prefer the you-can-say-whatever-you-want-it-won't-hurt-me strategy. But just how secure is this detente with the press?

44 Libel: Reporters Sued And Abandoned

By Marlene Adler Marks

What happens when two investigative reporters spend a year unravelling a Chinatown murder, get slapped with a \$30 million libel suit, and then find that their newspaper will not provide legal support? Lowell Bergman and Raul Ramirez of Hearst's San Francisco *Examiner* are in just that predicament, and the case has

touched off an acrimonious debate between the paper's staff and management.

52 Furthermore: Larry Flynt's Hometown

By Mary Lou Brown

Where do pornographers come from? Salyersville, Kentucky, Larry Flynt's hometown, is fried chicken, bootleg whiskey, tent revivals, graveyard association meetings, chewing tobacco, and days whittled away on the courthouse steps. Most shocking of all, few of the townsfolk have ever seen a copy of *Hustler*, the magazine published by a local boy who moved away.

Cover:

George Polk's body, bound hand and foot, as it was found in Salonika Bay seven days after he disappeared in May 1948.

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34 The Jody Watch: Good Linkage

By Aaron Latham

Carter's human rights policy has created some strange bedfellows:

LETTERS

HELL'S EDITORS

MORE's March 1977 article pertaining to the Hell's Angels relationship with the press elucidates most clearly why we so profoundly distrust alleged "journalists."

The writer, Mister Edward Kiersh, will be referred to as E.K. from this point on. In both action and words, he proved himself unworthy of both the respect and title given to a man, and of the title journalist.

From lede through conclusion, E.K. was more inaccurate and outright libelous and slanderous than in almost any of our previous dealings with the media's unethical tendency toward guile sensationalist subjectivity instead of ethical objectivity.

First, in what was professed to be an article, but was actually a paranoid and revengeful editorial, E.K. described our request that all copy and footage be seen by us before publication as an "Unchallengeable (at your own risk) helter-skelter editing axe" and our forthcoming joint-ventured documentary *Angels Forever, Forever Angels*, as "terror-soaked." Both are irresponsible and inaccurate statements that will be proved false by future viewers.

Then E.K. proceeded to falaciously emanate that a scene

from our documentary has an Angel stand beside a bare-breasted woman "asking" her to go-go dance. Besides having poor vision, E.K. must have impaired hearing. That is not what the Angel said to the woman at all. Nor, as E.K. alleges, was there a scene of "The pair's subsequent frolicking in the field" in any of our more than 70 hours of footage. The avowed Lower East Side Barroom scene cut from the documentary, was in fact, never cut or intended to be cut, and happens to be one of our longer scenes.

"On the soundtrack, the Angels can be heard telling the filmmakers to shut off their cameras," wrote E.K. In no way is that true. The Angel said "Move the camera." The camera was neither turned off; nor, as E.K. inaccurately stated, was what he termed "The next scene" actually the next scene. They are one and the same.

Since our beginning, the media has consistently exploited us. Bias, prejudice, deceit, lack of fair play or chance for rebuttal, and most unlawful portrayals of us as guilty before our trials, have saturated unsubstantiated and rarely by-lined copy to date. E.K. is a prime example of this.

The reason we have censorship power is not, as E.K. wrote, in

"Fear of legal repercussions," but to make sure that we get our point across on how we really are and that it is put in a truthful manner. However, we never, as E.K. libeled, told E.K. that if his proposed *Crawdaddy* article was printed that "The Angels run their own funeral parlor." In fact, it was the writer who jokingly said that to us!

We are honest and forthright. And in our minds, a writer's pen is supposed to be led by truth and honesty, not by idiots who let their paranoid imaginations run wild. E.K. didn't even have the balls to write that "That helpless feeling also experienced by a freelance journalist" happens to be him. After accepting the hospitality of being invited into our homes and given all the time he asked for, this bullock proceeded to write irrelevant sensationalistic trash, and broke down crying on three separate occasions when we calmly questioned the logic behind his multifarious misconstrued quotes in his original article. He then had the audacity to call us up and read an entirely different article than the one published in your magazine. The article printed in MORE in no way resembles the article OK'd over the telephone to this liar.

The Hell's Angels eagerly await the day when some journalist will show us that integrity actually exists in the field of journalism. We also await the day when we will be allowed to partake in what is supposed to be the inalienable right of Freedom of Speech. Until that day arrives, we want no part of other E.K.'s.

Sincerely,
—The Hell's Angels
New York City

SCOOP SOURS

Thank you for soliciting my comments on Claudia Cohen's hatchet job. (MORE, March 1977) If we made a practice of blowing stories as we blew the Fitzpatrick story we would richly deserve every snide cheapshot that Claudia Cohen could dish out.

But the fiasco she described, and for which I take responsibility, was an aberration in the record of a newspaper long known for its fairness, thoroughness and

accuracy. Cohen could have found this out for herself by checking independent sources. Instead, she rushed to judgement. If she had asked around, she would have discovered that Jeff Nesmith is a top investigative reporter and is recognized as such by journalistic friend and foe alike. He made a mistake. So have other great reporters. Cohen put him down as some kind of a nut.

Reading Cohen, I got the impression the *Inquirer* is clobbering the *Bulletin* in local news coverage. Again, with a little digging into our stories on professional school admissions scandals, the closing of the city's only public hospital, the mayor's call for 15,000 armed troops to protect 4th of July celebrants etc., she would have discovered that such is not the case.

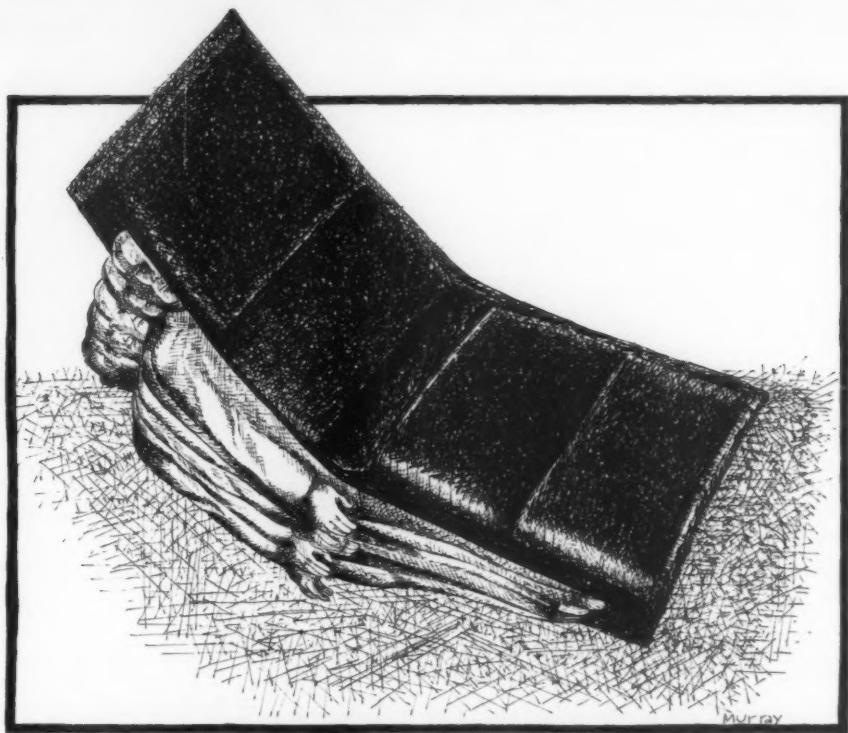
Sure, we deserved to be jumped on. But in her too hasty examination of our "Fitz fiasco", Cohen moved from tough reporting to gratuitous insults. So after 30 years in this business, including more than 25 on the *Bulletin* I find myself put down as a "so-called" newspaperman working for a "dreary daily." That galled me.

—Peter Binzen
Metro Editor
Philadelphia Bulletin

Claudia Cohen replies: It's nice to know the *Bulletin* did such a fine job reporting the city hospital closing. Unfortunately, the story in question concerns the district attorney — and on this particular matter, the *Inquirer* has consistently outscored the *Bulletin*. Mr. Binzen suggests that my failure to cite the past accomplishments of the *Bulletin* and Jeff Nesmith somehow represents a "rush to judgement."

Well, Mr. Binzen, the purpose of my story was not to provide career highlights but to recount what happened on the Fitzpatrick story. In other words, to tell why the *Bulletin* ran a page-one story based entirely on hearsay. In so doing, the *Bulletin* made a mistake and Mr. Nesmith made a mistake. It was a bad mistake and both parties, their reputations notwithstanding, "deserved to be jumped on." No time off for good behavior.





"Has meeting human needs become fiscally irresponsible?"

"To a lot of local politicians, the answer is Yes.

Instead of finding ways to meet human needs, they've been cutting back human services in order to balance their books.

Of course, not all budget cuts are bad. The right kind can mean less waste. And tighter management can mean greater efficiency.

But the wrong kind can mean dirtier water, weaker police protection, shoddier health and mental care, fewer trash collections. All this and higher taxes, too.

As taxpayers, we want government to meet its fiscal responsibility. To tax people fairly and spend money wisely.

But as public employees, we want government to meet its human responsibilities, too. To provide people with dignity and comfort.

We want to make sure when politicians say they're meeting fiscal needs, they're not ignoring human needs at the same time."

"The business of government is people."

Jerry Wurf, President
American Federation of State,
County and Municipal Employees
1625 L Street, NW,
Washington, D.C. 20036



HELLBOX

Miners' Revenge Bad Habit Here's Johnny Hamill and Jackie Computer Madness Masked Marauder Spies in Beantown Savvy

EDITED BY MARIE SALERNO AND STEVE ROBINSON

ABC BRASS GIVES THE HOOK TO DUSSAULT

"Good Morning America" Splits Up Winning Team

What "Good Morning America" co-hostess Nancy Dussault should have said was: "I'm madder than hell and I'm not going to take it anymore."

She never got the chance. The top brass at ABC-TV "killed her" first—not like *Network's* Howard Beale got it, but with the same corporate off-handedness.

Dussault's frustration with her minimal air-time was no secret. "It was obviously David Hartman's show," she said. "He got to do all the interviews. I've done plenty of starring and supporting roles and I know it's the classic complaint for performers to lament that they are not being given enough to do. But I figured being a co-hostess on a talk show would be different."

At first, Dussault told her bosses to "go easy on me." But in the fifteen months that have passed, her role from the first day to the last has remained unchanged: hawking advertisers'

products and acting as a foil for Hartman.

ABC axed Dussault in a most casual manner. Bob Shanks, vice president for program development and the man responsible for hiring Dussault, called her agent to break the news that they would be bringing in a "newswoman" (Sandy Hill, a reporter from KABC-TV in Los Angeles). "They finally decided that as a singer/actress I had been miscast in a role of a talk show hostess," explained Dussault. "They always felt that I was inconsistent."

Then, ABC told Rona Barrett, the show's gossip reporter and a close friend of Dussault's to announce on the air that Nancy would be saying goodbye to "Good Morning America" to return to her singing and acting career. *New York Post* columnist Bob Williams unknowingly continued the charade by taking Rona's lead and reporting that Dussault was quitting, not being fired.

When Dussault's fans called in protest all they got were "Good Morning America" secretaries who weren't even aware of the dismissal. "They never let me know how they felt about me until the end," says Dussault. "A part of me is very relieved that it's all over, but I can only offer my replacement one bit of advice—get your air-time spelled out in a contract."

EXPOSE FBI-WBZ LINKS

Boston Newsmen Cozy With Bureau in 60s

"We are for all those corny ideals/That all of us feel in New England," runs the jingle promoting Boston's WBZ television station.

Despite this advertised sentiment, FBI documents released recently under the Freedom of Information Act to the Socialist Workers Party reveal that newscaster Gene Pell and Westinghouse Area Vice President Lamont Thompson, a former FBI



"Good Morning America," good-bye Nancy Dussault.

agent, appear to have cooperated in 1967 with the Bureau's counter-intelligence program aimed at discrediting the anti-war movement.

"Thompson, Pell, and station WBZ," according to one FBI document, "have been extremely cooperative, discreet, and reliable with this office in the past, not only in regard to counter-intelligence activities but to all other phases of the Bureau's investigative interests."

During a week of anti-war activities in mid-April 1967, Pell, on Thompson's instructions, prepared a five-part series on the student movement. The series, the documents say, determined "to what extent various local campus organizations and protest groups are infiltrated or controlled by persons or organizations with an extreme left-wing background." Thompson was then the station manager at the Westinghouse-owned NBC affiliate.

A statement issued by WBZ after the disclosure contended that Pell's and Thompson's actions were "the normal routine in investigative reporting." The station said that Pell, not Thompson, originated the idea for the series and that the FBI didn't "view the finished product prior to broadcast," or influence its content. The statement, however, failed specifically to deny Pell's and Thompson's cooperation with the FBI.

The FBI documents also listed Gordon Hall, a regular contributor to the *Boston Herald Traveler* and now a talk show host on radio station WMEX, an NBC affiliate, as cooperative with the FBI. FBI headquarters in Washington wrote to an agent in Boston that "the Bureau is very pleased with the positive counter-intelligence results you have effected through confidentially furnishing information to (name deleted)." The next sentence praises an article written by Gordon Hall for the *Boston Herald* on May 23, 1965, which, according to the FBI letter "thoroughly exposes and discredits radical and subversive elements."

After the piece by Hall was published, the late Haywood

Vincent, who hosted a talk show on WNAC radio, invited Hall to appear on his show with several young radicals. The Boston FBI office was so satisfied with the program that they decided to use a tape of it "for training purposes" against SDS.

Gordon Hall also volunteered his services to the *Boston Globe* in 1965, according to the FBI files. He was "willing to be quoted as a source of information identifying individuals involved in the protest as well as describing their radical backgrounds."

Hall has refused comment on the documents, telling one reporter, "I don't comment on what communist revolutionaries have to say." The station on which he works, WMEX, failed to run a news story about the revelations.

Of Boston's television stations (besides WBZ), only WGBH, the educational outlet, covered the story. Richard Graf, news director of WNAC-TV, the CBS affiliate, said, "the story strikes me as pretty old. It's too far in the past to get worked up about."

—SIDNEY BLUMENTHAL

EDITOR BONKERS

Masquerades Through "Tribune" Plant

The *Oakland Tribune* has been on the block for years and its staff has long been accustomed to



Oakland Tribune's "Joey" Knowland: threatened to buy his own paper.



Even the lordly *New York Times* sometimes skirts a controversial issue. The ad campaign that kicked off *Nasty Habits*, the Watergate spoof set in a nunnery, began with the ad on the left. But after readers kicked about the habit the *Times* pulled a coverup.

being on its best behavior for potential buyers. Last month, shortly before the arrival of a major prospective buyer, *Trib* editor and publisher, 46-year-old Joseph W. Knowland announced that Otto von Mueller, a printer from Leipzig, Germany, was also interested in purchasing the paper and would make an inspection tour. His on-site survey completed, the tall, bearded printer announced that he was buying the paper. Mueller then flew into a rage, lambasting the staff for incompetence and threatening to fire them once he took over. As security guards warily approached Mueller to escort him out, he tore off his beard and revealed his true identity: Joseph W. "Joey" Knowland, editor and publisher and clown prince of the newspaper world.

Knowland had been kept out of harm's way until 1974 when his father, former Sen. William Knowland, committed suicide, and Joey took command of the *Tribune*. His office reflects the man. Knowland proudly displays a tricycle presented to him by his executive staff after *Los Angeles*

Times columnist Al Martinez implied that Joey was the biggest kid on the *Tribune*. Besides riding the three-wheeled vehicle through his domain, Knowland also keeps a toy cash register from which he distributes play money to his beleaguered employees.

Knowland's gift for the offbeat goes beyond office games to graphic design as well. Shortly after he took over the *Tribune*, he saw a man standing over a newsstand reading a copy of his paper without buying it. Miffed that the front page of his journal could be read for free, Knowland ordered that newsstand editions of the *Tribune* be printed so that only headlines could be seen on the stands and that copy begin below the fold.

Joey is a minority stockholder in the company and may lose the paper in a feud that has the family divided. His brother and sister, the majority stockholders, are seeking to sell the *Tribune*, Oakland's only daily. But Joey likes his job and wants to carry on.

—ROBERT SNYDER

HELLBOX

PRESS SHAFTED

Coal Miners Fix Media at Rescue Site

Early on March 6, a cold, rainy Sunday morning, a Pennsylvania coal miner named Ronald Adley was rescued from the underground grave in which he had been entombed for five days. Within moments, he was whisked away in an ambulance under the very noses of the two dozen reporters whose five-day vigil suddenly seemed to have been in vain. There would be no interviews, no pictures.

subject was also a journalist."UPI's David Milne was privately interviewing Mrs. Adley only to find himself on CBS-TV News that evening. "They had a stringer camera crew there," Milne complained. "They didn't have any right to bug my conversation."

A TV crew barged into the miners' locker room and filmed the rescuers sleeping between shifts. It wasn't long before mine officials barred reporters from sections of the workyard and ordered them not to interview grieving families. By the end of the week the mine's owner told state police to "get the reporters off my property, or my miners will."

The rescue of Ronald Adley had been predicted as early as Thursday, March 3, but it wasn't until 8 p.m. Saturday that officials announced Adley had been

Wide World



Ronald Adley: rescued from mine disaster and press.

Adley's escape was no accident. "We screwed them good, didn't we?" growled one miner as he glared contemptuously at the angry press corps.

Miners and reporters had clashed from the first day of the disaster that had buried six men in Tower City, Pa. The only thing they had in common was that they both had to wait. "There were more newsmen there than miners," recalls Hal Marcozzi of the *Pottsville Republican*. "They spent the day looking for a statement from anybody. Everyone was interviewed. On some occasions reporters with microphones in their hands started asking questions only to find out their

"reached" and would be out within the hour.

Within three hours, the first edition of the Sunday *Harrisburg Patriot-News* carried the headline: "Miner Finally Safe After 3-Day Effort." At about the same time *The New York Times'* front page proclaimed: "Coal Miner is Rescued." The only problem was that Adley still wasn't out and wasn't actually rescued until 8:35 Sunday morning.

The closest any newsman got to Adley was a lucky *Pottsville Republican* photographer who snapped the miner at the hospital. And the only interview—Adley's "personal story"—was bought by AP for an undisclosed sum.

CHECK IT OUT

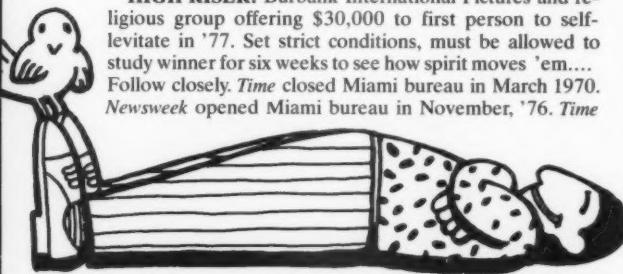
MACHA: *Savvy*, new magazine for women execs, gets over 8,000 subs from intro in *New York/New West* mags. First choice for cover, versatile career gal **Candy Bergen**, nixed offer. *Savvy* settled on runner-up, globetrotter **Shirley MacLaine**.... Plaza Hotel doorman pocket 20s from hungry reporters looking for scoops on alleged **Mick Jagger** and **Margaret Trudeau** tryst.... Puff piece on Mazda in *New York Times* penned by **Bob Fendell**, Mazda flack.

BOLLES HUSH-UP: *Arizona Republic* refuses to publish IRE report furthering work of murdered reporter. Out-of-town papers at premium in Phoenix as residents hunt for info on local baddies. Polls by KTAR-TV show 84 per cent disagree with paper's stand. Citizens picket *Republic* office.... Japan freebie for press following *Kiss*. Junket sponsored by Pan Am and rock group's Aucoin Management. Taking in sights in Tokyo: *NY Daily News'* **Josh Mills**, *New Times'* **Bob Weiner**, NEA's **Stan Mieses**, *Playboy's* **David Standish**.... New species of white lion discovered and Paddington Press and Grosset and Dunlap to publish book.... Talk Radio WRNG-Atlanta takes credit for Carter's smooth performance on Dial-a-Pres. Say Carter did Dial-a-Gov for them.



"Kiss"

HIGH RISER: Burbank International Pictures and religious group offering \$30,000 to first person to self-levitate in '77. Set strict conditions, must be allowed to study winner for six weeks to see how spirit moves 'em.... Follow closely. *Time* closed Miami bureau in March 1970. *Newsweek* opened Miami bureau in November, '76. *Time*



now thinking of reopening Miami bureau. *Newsweek* closed Miami bureau February '77.... **Jay Bernstein**, Farrah's Hollywood agent, raking in ten percent of millions, returns writers' calls collect.... New biweekly tabloid, New York *Daily Planet* to debut this month.

TEEPEE TO TEEVEE: WJW-TV in Cleveland rehires **Rocky Colavito** for color announcer at televised Indian games. Problem is: Rocky is first base coach for the team and bombed at TV job once before. TV calls shots, manager will man coaching box.... **Marshall Frady**'s definitive biography of **Billy Graham** to be excerpted in fall *Atlantic Monthly*. Author said to be personally impressed with preacher.... ABC deal to buy *Los Angeles* and *The American West* mags from CHC Corp. to be set by June. ABC will only acquire assets of CHC, not other holdings like nursing homes. **Seth Baker**, publisher, to move over to ABC.

CIRCULATION WAR: First report from New York's newspaper battleground. During March, all newsstand up. Approximate increase in sales over March '76: *News*, 65,000; *Post*, 15,000; *Times*, 40,000. *Times* scores biggest percentage increase at five per cent. Others tied around three per cent.... KQED-TV San Francisco hires reporter **Randy Shilts** to cover gay beat for news.... *Architectural Digest*, *crème de la crème* of its genre, starts book subsidiary composed of mag's color reprints. Cut-rate effort not worthy of *AD*.... In landmark decision, California State Appeals Board rules freelancers on assignment to mags now held to be employees, thus eligible for unemployment.... "Money Report," *Time*'s syndicated TV feature, pink slips staff due to lack of station response.

TACKY: Ultimate in service pieces? "Shopper's Guide to Ladies' Rooms" in New York *Daily News* Mag. Editor **Dick Lemon** says, "It was a case of great minds thinking alike".... **Tennessee Williams** takes swig of vermouth on stage before regaling H.S. kids in Big Apple theatre.

LI PRESS FOLDS: Long Island paper calls quits after 156 years. 108 editorial staff jobless. Editor **David Starr** heartened by calls from nation's press saying "tell your people to call us." Starr will assume post of publisher of Newhouse's Springfield (Mass.) papers. While Metro area laments loss, columnist **Jimmy Breslin**, former *Press* staffer, takes swipe: "It was my first job and my worst job... for me it was the Rikers Island of the newspaper business."

HAMILL VEXED

Photog Snaps Writer With Jackie O

Poor Pete Hamill. Used to be this Brooklyn-born boy could casually wander unnoticed into any bar in Greenpoint, Bay Ridge, or Red Hook and hoist a few with the guys. During these informal, elbow-bending sessions, Hamill was able to extract those honest, down-to-earth observations that make his columns among the most skillful chronicles of the working man.

But now Pete's got a problem. His squiring of Jackie Onassis dominated the front page of the March 29 *National Enquirer* and the caption removed all doubt: "Shirley MacLaine's Boyfriend Is New Man in Jackie's Life." More photos and a smarmy story

followed.

Hamill is seriously concerned that his ability to cover a story while maintaining a low profile will be hindered because his subjects will be even more curious about his private life (than they have been since he began his relationship with Shirley MacLaine some years ago). "When you go into a bar or something to do an interview," says Pete, "everybody starts looking at you; they want to talk about what you're doing. That's why I've never done television—and I've had lots of offers—because you become bigger than the stories you're covering. I've never tried to do that in my work."

Hamill denies any similarity between himself and the jet set. But wherever Jackie goes, the paparazzi go. And anyone at her side is very likely to find himself on page one of the *Enquirer*. "That picture," says Hamill, "made me look like a tall Truman Capote."

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What You Will (And Won't) Be Seeing on TV This Fall page 2

Bionic Women Lindsay Wagner's Heartbreaking & Lonely Childhood page 62

What Amy Carter's New Classmates Think of Her page 14

How to Prevent Unseen Barriers From Destroying Your Marriage page 27

What Producers Do When a TV Series Star Dies page 50

CINEMA 3

Shirley MacLaine's Boyfriend Is New Man in Jackie's Life

Who's that woman with Pete Hamill?

HELLBOX BOGUS REPORTER

Florida Cop In Dastardly Ploy

Sergeant Ed de la Vergne of the Fort Lauderdale Police Department has been watching too much TV. Given a tough case to crack, he took a cue from "Baretta" and decided to go undercover. It was spring break and the Florida beaches were swamped with the annual flood of college kids. His mission for the police department: find the answers to such pithy questions as where do you come from, how long are you staying and do you like it here? Figuring the kids wouldn't warm to a man in blue, he decided to pose as a UPI reporter.

Things were cool until he bragged about his sleuthing with phony press credentials to real-life reporter Jim Reynolds, of WPLG-TV. Reynolds wasn't amused and blew the cop's cover on the air.

Said de la Vergne's boss, Sgt. Frank Schueler: "We just took a page out of journalism. Reporters masquerade all the time to get their story. We were doing the same thing."

—JOAN ADELSON

COHN SUES NBC

Calls Program Slander Of McCarthy

Just as they did in the 1950s, characters from the McCarthy era are haunting the TV networks. This time, however, rather than blacklisting, they are suing NBC and Universal Pictures.

The plaintiffs are Roy Cohn, the controversial New York lawyer, and G. David Schine, now a Hollywood film producer. The suit stems from a recent three-hour McCarthy opus, "Tail

Gunner Joe," and, according to Cohn's lawyers, is in the neighborhood of \$25 million.

Cohn, who was the youthful chief counsel for Senator Joseph R. McCarthy's Senate Committee, and Schine, another aide, claim they were defamed in "Tail Gunner Joe." Among Cohn's objections is a conversation between Robert Kennedy and Jean Kerr (later Mrs. McCarthy), in which Cohn's capabilities as counsel are questioned. Cohn calls the show "a pack of lies" and takes issue with NBC's attempt "to fictionally portray a living person in an alleged documentary and to do so for commercial purposes."

A key point of contention will be that Cohn contacted the network two months in advance of the February 6 air-date with an offer to preview the show and correct any "inaccuracies." "They turned me down flat," he says.

Cohn is also investigating the possibility of securing equal time and a budget from NBC to produce his own version of the events. And he has already churned out a quickie paperback—a reprint of a book he wrote in 1968 with a new introduction—entitled *McCarthy: The Answer to Tail Gunner Joe*, by "the man who knew him best."

—TOM KENNEDY

POT SHOT

Carson Sues Mich. Toilet Mogul

Nobody dumps on Johnny Carson. That's why he's suing a Michigan manufacturer for calling a new line of toilets "Here's Johnny."

Earl Braxton, president of Port-A-John, applied for the

EASY READER

Computer Hired To Grade Stories

Gerald Ford's hometown paper, the *Grand Rapids Press*, may be right on target with its master plan to simplify stories for its readers.

After editor Werner Veit received complaints from nine and ten-year-olds that the *Press* was unappealing to kids, he summoned a computer to program a new editing process. According to the electronic brain: the fewer letters in a word and the shorter

the sentence, the lower the grade-level—and the more potential readers for the *Press*.

Computers being what they are, however, there is still at least one major bug in the system. The machine makes no allowance for proper names. "I'm really worried," said one reporter. "I just finished a piece on William Ruckelshaus and the computer is going to think I'm writing a doctoral thesis."

ABC ATTACK

The Long Way 'Round To Boost Babs & Harry

ABC News has another idea. Having failed to get viewers to watch Barbara Walters because they want to see Barbara Walters, the network will now try to get them to watch because they're too lazy to switch the channel. How's this done? By improving the quality of the local news programs that lead into the Reasoner-Walters network evening news.

This marks the first time a network will work directly with local news on its affiliate stations, and ABC is providing the service free of charge to any station that wants it. "The response has been overwhelming," says Al Ittleson, vice president of the newly created "ABC News Advisory Service" that will do the doctoring. Of ABC's 190 affiliates, over a hundred are expected to send for the new veep. With this strategy, ABC, which has fewer affiliates than the other networks, hopes to pirate CBS and NBC affiliates as well as boost network news ratings.

As for the other networks, NBC indicates it has no plans for a similar service, while CBS is watching "to see how successful Ittleson is."

Ittleson, an early practitioner of ABC's successful Eyewitness News concept, says there will be no standardized format. And as for happy talk, which ABC has so blithely propagated over its own local news shows, says Ittleson: "We don't do happy talk."

—EDWARD DEITCH



SCHORR REPLIES

Says CBS Got Crack At Spy Report

We have not seen the last of Daniel Schorr, at least not in print. When the former CBS correspondent's book, *Final Assignment*, is published this fall, Schorr will tell his side of the dissemination of the Pike Report on FBI and CIA misdeeds.

Schorr will deny CBS News President Richard Salant's charge that Schorr never approached CBS about publishing the full text. Schorr claims that he went first to Salant with his plan to publish the report but that Salant told him that neither of CBS's two publishing houses would handle it because they didn't want to defy the House. It was only then, says Schorr, that he went to the Reporters' Committee for Freedom of Information which, in turn, put him in touch with New York attorney Peter Tufo. Tufo was a board member of the corporation that owned *The Village Voice* — a relationship Schorr claims he did not know about.

"For all I know, Tufo never approached anyone else," says Schorr sadly. "The Voice was the last place I wanted it published."

—RICHARD J.
PIETSCHMANN

DYLAN MAG

Sheet Deifies Singer; Hones in on Lyrics

Brian Stibal, a 22-year-old Bob Dylan freak, figured he couldn't be the only one who was stumped by the opaque imagery of Dylan's lyrics. Apparently, he figured right. His magazine, *Zimmerman Blues*, which began three years ago with a distribution of twenty copies, has matured into a scholarly review with a circulation of 1,000.

The twenty-page quarterly

which touts Dylan (né Zimmerman) as "America's most important Jewish figure," is serious straight-from-the-shoulder stuff for full-time matriculated Dylan majors.

One recent article discusses the musical intricacies of Dylan's "Tangled Up In Blue," and goes as far as to tell the reader exactly how to place his fingers on the guitar strings to reproduce the Dylan "sound."

The magazine, published without Dylan's cooperation, professes to be the only publication devoted exclusively to analyzing the bard from Hibbing, Minnesota and his music. However, *Blues'* content may disappoint the fan looking for the latest on Dylan's marital woes. No "win a date with Bob Dylan" contests, either.

—D.C.

ROOTS PROMO

Gambian Story-Teller Center Stage at Store

One of the more offbeat *Roots* spin-offs came to pass when Ab-



Department store's Griot Alhaji Bai Conteh

raham and Straus decided to do some drum beating for its downtown Brooklyn department store. A&S imported an African *griot* (a verbal historian) to sing songs and spin tales of the Dark Continent to entertain shoppers. *Griot* Alhaji Bai Conteh was no relation to Alex Haley's Kunta Kinte, but the connection was clear enough — both hailed from Gambia.

It is said that a *griot* can recite tribal lore for as long as four days without repeating himself. The 500 *Roots* groupies were regaled at the store for two hours before the *griot* was besieged by TV talk show producers and newspaper reporters anxious for an exclusive. But A&S retained its scoop — Conteh spurned the publicity and returned home as unobtrusively as he had come.

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WHO KILLED GEORGE POLK?

BY YIANNIS P. ROUBATIS AND ELIAS VLANTON

The murder of any reporter—whether Don Bolles in Arizona or George Polk in the mountains of northern Greece—sends a chill through all of us. But when the truth is bludgeoned as well, the crime is doubly heinous. That, as this article documents, is exactly what happened with the massive cover-up of George Polk's death by the right-wing Greek government, by U.S. officials, and by members of the American press.

This special report, twenty-nine years overdue, is the product of nine months of research. Government and private archives have been searched, dozens of people interviewed, hundreds of hours spent checking and rechecking facts. The task was so enormous that MORE's own editorial staff, and especially

Robert Friedman and William Masters, have spent months aiding the two authors and supplementing their work.

So that our sources may be known, we have footnoted the text. And, since the primary evidence of the press cover-up—the report of the Overseas Writers Association's special committee headed by Walter Lippmann—is difficult, if not impossible to find, we have reprinted it as an appendix.

A special word of appreciation is due I.F. Stone who encouraged us to re-examine the Polk case and who introduced us to the two authors of this article, Yiannis P. Roubatis and Elias Vlanton, Washington-based freelance writers currently at work on a book about the Polk affair.

May 16, 1948, CBS correspondent George Polk, missing for seven days, is found by a fisherman—floating just below the surface of Salomika Bay in northern Greece. He is wearing the grey sport jacket, the shoes, and the wristwatch he had on when he was last seen. The money in his wallet has not been touched, but his war correspondent's identity card is missing. His hands and feet are bound with coarse rope and there is a single bullet hole in the back of his head. According to the coroner's report, he had been thrown into the sea while still alive.

Who killed George Polk?

Five months after the body was found, four Greeks were implicated in the murder. Two, high-ranking members of the Communist Party, were never apprehended but were convicted of the murder in absentia; one was acquitted; and the fourth, Gregory Stactopoulos, a stringer for *Reuters*, was found guilty of complicity and spent twelve years in jail.

The American press rushed to join the investigation of what was believed to be the first politically motivated murder of an American journalist. CBS dispatched Winston Burdett, its correspondent in Rome, to follow the investigation. And the Overseas Writers Association appointed a special committee, chaired by Walter Lippmann, to report on the murder. Both Burdett and the Lippmann Committee ended up accepting the premise of the Greek government that the Left was responsible for Polk's death and that justice had been done. The case was closed.

But today, almost thirty years later, the Polk case is coming undone. Among the new developments:

- A nine-month search of archives in Washington has turned up evidence of a massive cover-up by the Greek government, the U.S. State Department, the Central Intelligence Agency—and the American press.
- The one man who went to jail for the Polk murder has recently recanted his confession, charging that it was obtained after two months of torture.
- One of the two men convicted in absentia, now living in Rumania, has called for a re-examination of the case and has offered to return to Greece to stand trial. The Greek government has refused his request.
- A handwriting specimen, the only physical evidence actually introduced during the trial, has been challenged as a fabrication. The Greek prosecutor's office now says that it cannot locate the document. In addition, many of the prosecution witnesses at the trial have repudiated their testimony.
- A former OSS and CIA officer, one of the principal investigators for the Lippmann Committee who was suddenly recalled when he raised the possibility that the Right, not the Left, had committed the murder, now says that the trial "was a show to cover up the real perpetrator of the crime."¹
- A book published recently in Greece by the man who covered the Polk case for the *Christian Science Monitor* claims that British intelligence agents may have been involved in the murder.
- Recent evidence suggests that the man the Lippmann Committee chose to conduct its investigation, General William "Wild Bill" Donovan, former head of the OSS, was steering the investigation away from right-wing suspects.

The Greek press, in recent months, has been ablaze with the news of the Polk mystery. Scores of articles have appeared, many demanding a re-opening of the case. Yet the American press has remained silent. What follows is a reconstruction of one of the most bizarre—and shameful—episodes in American journalism.

The Last Assignment

George Polk was 34 years old when he disappeared. He had built a reputation as a hard-nosed reporter working for the New York *Herald Tribune*, the *Los Angeles Times*, and *Newsweek*. In 1946, he joined CBS as the network's chief Middle East corre-

Wide World
spondent and spent much of his time covering the civil wars in Greece. His reports from Greece were increasingly critical of the right-wing government in Athens and of U.S. support for the regime. One of his frequent targets was a General Napoleon Zervas, a former minister of public order who headed a secret right-wing organization.

In a December 1947 *Harpers* article, Polk called Zervas a "professional gambler and unscrupulous politician," and cited a secret American document noting Zervas' "dictatorial and fascist tendencies" in his "ruthless campaign against the opponents of the government."

Polk was not unmindful that his reporting might get him in trouble. Several months before his death, he had written, in a letter to Drew Pearson, "When a reporter writes this kind of report he comes under attack by the Royalist right wingers who are squeezing the country for their own benefit and sending dollars out in diplomatic pouches as fast as

possible. Specifically, these crooks hope to get a number of American reporters now working in Greece discredited or moved."

And less than three weeks before he was killed, Polk told fellow reporter Constantine Hadjigaryris of the *Christian Science Monitor* that he had received phone calls denouncing him as a Communist and threatening: "We are going to kill you."²

In May 1948, Polk undertook what was to be his last assignment. He was planning to return soon to the U.S. to accept a Nieman Fellowship at Harvard, and he decided to make a final trip to northern Greece. He had intended to vacation in Kavalla, but stayed on in Salomika when his airplane developed engine trouble. While there, he tried to contact the left-wing guerrillas fighting in northern Greece. The guerrillas, under the leadership of General Markos Vafiades, were in control of much of the countryside in northern Greece and the year before had formed a "Free" Greek government. The civil war between the insurgents and the Athens government was in its final and bloodiest act. And behind the right-wing government—providing military aid, napalm, "advisors," and millions of dollars—was the U.S. government. In March 1947, the Truman Doctrine had been proclaimed making it clear that the U.S. would come to the aid of any government fighting Communist "aggression." Greece was the first test.

Throughout war-torn Europe, nations were being traded like pawns in a chess game between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. Hungary and Czechoslovakia had, by 1948, come under Soviet influence. The Cold War had already turned U.S.-Soviet relations to ice: Washington was implementing its containment policy



George Polk



James Kellis, former OSS and CIA officer, assisted Donovan in Polk investigation. Recalled to the U.S. for asking embarrassing questions.

and solidifying its post-war empire. At home, the anti-Communist fever was spreading. Congressional committees were investigating Alger Hiss and others suspected of spying for the Russians. And Harry Truman, who had proclaimed American power by dropping the first atomic bomb at the beginning of his Presidency, was now fighting an uphill battle for reelection against Republican Thomas Dewey.

Part of the strategy for crushing the Left in Greece was the creation of a favorable climate of opinion in the U.S. And since Americans depended on the press for their information about Greece, control of the press was a high priority for American officials in Athens. While there is no evidence that any action against Polk was contemplated, State Department officials had been trying to exert pressure on other reporters.

One State Department cable



Rea Polk believed the Right killed her husband.

in February 1948 expressed official concern over the reporting of the *Monitor's* Hadjiahyryris: "[Greek] Foreign Minister said in reply to question that getting rid of Hadjiahyryris or bringing him under control extremely delicate because he is step-son of Sophoulis [former Prime Minister]."³

Another cable in April con-

WHO'S WHO

Ayer, Fredrick. Former FBI official; Security Officer of the American Mission for Aid in Greece; assigned to follow investigation for State Department.

Baxter, William. Assistant Chief, Greek, Turkish and Iranian Affairs, Department of State.

Bigart, Homer. New York *Herald Tribune* correspondent in Greece and the Balkans.

Burdett, Winston. CBS correspondent in Rome; assigned by network to follow investigation.

Coate, Randall. British information officer in Salonika. Believed to be intelligence officer. Probably last person to see Polk alive. Left Greece suddenly three days before body discovered.

Constantinides, P. Chief prosecutor of the Salonika Court of Appeals at the time of Polk's murder.

Donovan, William ("Wild Bill"). Director of the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) during World War II. Appointed Counsel to the Lippmann Committee; concluded that trial was fair.

Driscoll, Robert. CIA officer in charge of liaison with Greek government. In 1966, was in Mexico City as CIA expert on infiltration of revolutionary organizations.

Freer, Christopher. CIA station chief in Greece in 1948. Instrumental in the recall of Col. Kellis.

Gibson, Raleigh. U.S. Consul-General in Salonika.

Griswold, Dwight. Chief, American Mission for Aid in Greece.

Hadjiahyryris, Constantine. *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent in Greece at the time of Polk's murder and friend of Polk. The police attempted to implicate him in the murder. Published a book, *The Polk Affair: The Role of Foreign Agencies in Greece*, in Athens in 1975.

Kellis, James, Lt. Col. OSS officer during World War II; Air Force officer; CIA officer 1950-1954. Assistant to General Donovan in Polk investigation. Recalled to the U.S. for pursuing leads pointing to involvement of the Right in the murder.

Lindley, Ernest. *Newsweek's* Washington Bureau chief, 1937 to 1961. President of Overseas Writers Association.

Marshall, George. U.S. Secretary of State.

Martin, Guy. Assistant Counsel to Lippmann Committee. Worked for Donovan's law firm.

tained a detailed report on Homer Bigart of the New York *Herald Tribune* concluding that he was dangerous to the formation of American opinion. That cable ended with a remarkable observation: "In these critical times one wonders whether we can afford the luxury not only of our recognized yellow press but of such serious examples of ir-

responsibility among the correspondents of our most respected newspapers and agencies The Department undoubtedly is giving careful and continuous study to the best elements among the Fourth Estate in furthering our foreign policy."⁴

George Polk was certainly not furthering American for-

Morgan, E.M. Professor of Criminal Law at Harvard. Analyzed Stactopoulos' confessions for Lippmann Committee.

Moushountis, C. Investigated Polk murder for the General Security Police.

Mouzenides, Adam. One of two men convicted in absentia of murdering Polk. High-ranking member of the Communist Party. His family has requested a re-examination of the trial. They claim that at the time of Polk's murder Mouzenides was already dead.

Papathemelis, Stylianos. Member of Parliament from the centrist EDIK Party spearheading efforts to re-examine murder trial.

Polk, Rea. Wife of George Polk.

Poulos, Constantine. Correspondent of the Overseas News Agency. Named to Newsmen's Commission to investigate Polk murder. One of the few American reporters to question the official line of the investigation.

Rankin, Karl. Chargé d'Affaires, American Embassy in Athens. Highest ranking American official in Greece at time of murder.

Rentis, Constantine. Minister of Public Order in charge of investigation of Polk's murder.

Secondari, John Hermes. Assistant to Winston Burdett.

Stactopoulos, Anna. Mother of Gregory Stactopoulos.

Stactopoulos, Gregory. Reuters stringer and reporter for *Makedonia*, a daily newspaper in Salonika. Charged with complicity in the murder of George Polk, convicted, and sentenced to life in prison. Recently, he recanted his confession as having been extracted through torture and requested a re-examination of the trial.

Thrapp, Dan. United Press correspondent in Greece until five days before Polk's murder. Discussed with Polk the possibility of going to see Markos together.

Vafiades, Markos. Leader of the left-wing Free Greek Government formed in December 1947.

Vasvanas, Vangelis. One of two men convicted in absentia for the murder of George Polk. A middle-level guerrilla leader. Now lives in exile in Rumania and has recently requested permission to return to Greece and face a new trial.

Wickham, Charles. British General in charge of the British Police Mission to Greece.

Zervas, Napoleon. Leader of extreme right-wing group and former Minister of Public Order.

eign policy when he arrived in Salonika on May 7, 1948. He spent two days looking for people who could put him in touch with General Markos, but there is no evidence that he actually made contact with any of the guerrillas. On May 9, Polk disappeared. When his body was discovered seven days later, Greek authorities in

Athens and Salonika immediately began investigating. But weeks passed without an arrest.

"Wild Bill" Donovan

In the meantime, the State Department, the CIA, Scotland Yard, Winston Burdett on behalf of CBS, and the Lippmann



"Wild Bill" Donovan, the Lippmann Committee's investigator. Sending him to Greece was like sending Richard Helms to investigate torture in Iran.

Committee all began their own investigations. Perhaps the most unusual aspect of this unusual case was the role of the Lippmann Committee. None of the members of the committee, who were appointed by Ernest K. Lindley, *Newsweek*'s Washington bureau chief and president of the Overseas Writers Association, spent any appreciable time in Greece. Instead, Lindley and Lippmann selected a New York lawyer, whom they had both known for years, to be their investigator. He was William "Wild Bill" Donovan.

Asking Donovan to represent the American press is like *The New York Times* sending Richard Helms to Iran to investigate allegations of torture.

Donovan was a legend in spy circles. During World War II, he had organized and run America's first intelligence agency — the Office of Strategic Services. He coordinated undercover operations behind enemy lines in Greece, France, Germany,



Newsweek's Ernest Lindley picked his friend, General Donovan, to head investigation.

Italy, Burma, and other countries, laying the espionage groundwork for the OSS's post-war successor, the CIA. One writer called him "one of the greatest spymasters of all time."⁵

Donovan's influence in shaping American foreign policy continued after the war, when he returned to his law practice

with the firm Donovan and Leisure. Along with Allen Dulles, he was one of the architects of the CIA. He believed in the need for on-going undercover operations against the Russians. In an article in *Atlantic* in May 1948, one month before he entered the Polk case, Donovan wrote: "Whether we like it or not, we have many enemies in the world today and we must know exactly what they are doing... We must counter Soviet subversive attacks and help to build resistance in countries Russia attempts to subjugate. We must take the offensive on the psychological front."

So, it was not surprising when Secretary of State George Marshall signed a cable to the American Embassy in Athens in June announcing that Donovan was leaving for Greece with the "blessings of the State Department."⁹ And it was not surprising that although Donovan was ostensibly working as counsel for the Lippmann Committee, he reported to the American ambassador throughout the investigation and played a key role in determining its course.

Donovan arrived in Greece in early June, bringing with him an assistant, Air Force Lieutenant Colonel James Kellis. Kellis, an American citizen of Greek descent, had served in the OSS under Donovan. He spent a year in Greece during the war as head of the OSS group working with the left-wing, anti-Nazi resistance movement in the north.

In Salonika, Donovan met with Major Moushountis of the Greek National Security Police who was in charge of the investigation. Kellis, Burdett, and Raleigh Gibson, American Consul-General in Salonika, were also present. According to a State Department dispatch describing the meeting, Donovan made it clear to Moushountis that he was not content to be simply an observer. When Moushountis explained why there had been little progress in the case, Donovan responded that "an arrest was desired."¹⁰

The only problem was find-

ing a suitable suspect. The Communists fit the bill. The head of the American Mission for Aid in Greece (AMAG) had already stated in Washington that "personally I feel that certain Communists are to blame."¹¹ And Consul-General Gibson had cabled Washington that the Greek prosecutor in charge of the investigation

her Monday that they would not tolerate anyone to write against the government.¹²

Kellis was also beginning to have his doubts. He said in a recent interview from his home in Connecticut that he became convinced then, and is still convinced today, that the extreme Right was responsible for Polk's death. "Why would the Com-

Wide World



CBS correspondent Winston Burdett testifying in 1955 that he had once been a Communist spy. Did his political conversion color his investigation for CBS?

"does not want to believe that the murder was caused by the right-wing, and I am of the opinion that he is endeavoring to convince himself of the fact."¹³

The Cover-Up Begins

But others had their doubts that the Left had murdered Polk. First there was the question of motive: Polk had been critical of the right-wing government, not of the Left. Polk's widow, a Greek woman named Rea, was certain that the Greek government was responsible for her husband's death. As Gibson noted in report: "She says George furnished ammunition for Drew Pearson's broadcast in January castigating Greek Government and that Greek Ambassador in Washington tried to 'get' Polk's job... He was threatened many times — by the police... Police told

communists have killed him?" Kellis asked. "This wouldn't serve any purpose."¹⁴ The more Kellis looked into the case the more contradictions he found in the police theories of the murder. He also had a number of independent sources, including the Greek Minister of Public Order Constantine Rentis, and two British intelligence officers, who told him they believed that the Right had killed Polk.

On June 18, 1948, Kellis wrote to Guy Martin, assistant counsel to the Lippmann Committee, in Washington: "Up to this moment, I sincerely believed that the Communists were behind the murder... now I was not too certain... Many of our officials here were concerned that if the extreme Right committed this murder and were discovered that this may upset our aid program to Greece. As you can see I found myself between what I thought was the truth and our national and

personal interest... These were very difficult days for me. I was debating the question whether if we do expose the right, such an act would harm our national interest... As we stand now, we believe our evidence does not support the police theory that the commies committed the murder. Many British and even right wing Greeks admitted to me that this is an extreme rightist plot."

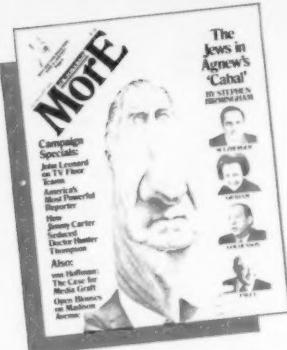
But Kellis was asking too many uncomfortable questions. If the Right had murdered Polk, wasn't the U.S. indirectly to blame? Something had to be done to cut off his line of inquiry. As U.S. Chargé d'Affaires in Greece Karl Rankin wrote to Secretary Marshall on July 17, "Freer and Driscoll [Freer was the CIA station chief in Athens; Driscoll another CIA officer attached to the American Embassy], who have been following investigation details for Embassy, have discussed case with Kellis and report his belief based on little more than personal prejudice... In view of above situation Embassy believes sooner Kellis removed from scene the better."¹⁵

A few days later, Kellis was removed from the scene. He was recalled to Washington by the Air Force and reassigned to another post.

According to Kellis, attempts were made to smear him as a leftist for raising doubts about the Polk investigation. His phones were tapped, his family was placed under surveillance, and one evening he discovered a man from Air Force Counter-intelligence going through the wastebasket in his Pentagon office.¹⁶ Despite these efforts to discredit Kellis, he later served a tour of duty with the CIA from 1950-54.

Shortly after he returned to the U.S., Kellis met with Ernest Lindley, president of the Overseas Writers Association. As Lindley wrote in a memorandum which he sent to Lippmann: "He said that he believes that certain American officials are eager to discontinue this investigation. In some in-

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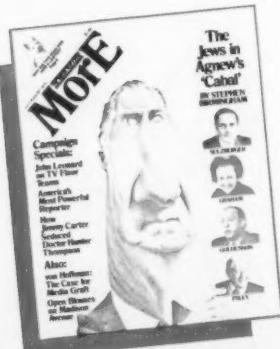
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stances they were not as vigorous or impartial as they should have been. It is Col. K's belief that by pretending ignorance of the discrepancies of the investigation, we are becoming silent partners to crime ..." ¹⁴ Kellis' leads were apparently never followed up by the Lippmann Committee. One committee member, Marquis Childs, says

Polk affair, impartial or otherwise, could be undesirable per se. Proposed composition this mission particularly dangerous." The ambassador was particularly upset with the selection of Poulos who had written articles critical of the Athens regime. He described Poulos as an "unreliable, emotional and extremely vocal fellow-traveler

the Secretary and the Committee that if other organizations approach the Department on the matter, the Secretary will advise them that this Committee is actively pursuing the matter." ¹⁶

The intent of the agreement was clearly to head off other inquiries — which is what Lippmann did with the News-

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Gregory Stactopoulos, Reuters stringer, confessing to complicity in Polk's murder during his trial in May, 1949. Was he drugged as some observers thought or tortured as he now claims?

he was never shown Lindley's memorandum or told of Kellis' doubts at the time.

One other investigation was sidetracked during the weeks following Polk's death. In late June, the American War Correspondents Association, the Newspaper Guild of New York, the Foreign Press Association, and the Standing Committee of the United Nations Correspondents formed a "Newsmen's Commission to Investigate the Murder of George Polk." The four groups were critical of the investigations being conducted by the Greek government. They appointed Constantine Poulos of the Overseas News Agency, John Donovan of NBC, and William Polk, George Polk's brother, to carry out a separate inquiry.

When the American ambassador in Greece learned of this new investigation, he fired off a cable to the State Department: "Embassy feels strongly that any new mission to investigate

and concluded: "If [State] Department or Lippmann Committee cannot persuade association of New York Journalists drop whole idea or at least induce association appoint replacement for Poulos, Embassy recommends that Department consider refusing him passport. If this not feasible, possibility remains of supporting right of Greek government to declare him persona non grata and refuse visa." ¹⁵

It wasn't necessary for the State Department to deny Poulos a passport. The Newsmen's Commission, unable to raise the \$10,000 needed to finance its investigation, appealed to the Lippmann Committee for help. In May 1948, shortly after the committee was formed, Lippmann had met with Secretary of State Marshall and discussed how they would handle other possible investigations. A memorandum prepared after the meeting stated: "It was agreed between

men's Commission. He turned down their request for money in a letter dated October 4: "Our committee does not agree that it is important to get this team to Greece as soon as possible, and in fact believes that it would interfere with the inquiry which is now taking place there." ¹⁷ Without money and support, the Newsmen's Commission never got off the ground.

The "Solution"

With Kellis and the Newsmen's Commission out of the way, the Greek government was able to proceed in its "solution" of the crime. On August 12, two Greek ministers arrived in Salonika and announced, "The honor of Greece depends on finding the murderer whoever he may be." ¹⁸ Two days later, Gregory Stactopoulos, a stringer for Reuters and a reporter for *Makedonia*, a daily newspaper published in Salonika, was de-

tained by police. No immediate reason was given for his arrest.

Stactopoulos' name had come up in reports written by Consul-General Gibson and by Burdett as one of a number of people Polk had met with in Salonika in the two days before his death. The meeting had lasted only five minutes and at the time neither Gibson nor Burdett attached any special significance to it.

But the Greek authorities pursued the lead. A request was made through the American Embassy to interview three American correspondents — Burdett, Howard K. Smith, and U.P.'s Dan Thrapp — who were believed to have information about Polk's plans in Salonika. On May 28, Chargé d'Affaires Rankin telephoned the Rome Embassy: "Thrapp alleges he does not repeat not know identity of person in Salonika he believes 'could' and probably would' have served as guide for him and Polk had they made trip to Markos, but does assert he knows some of his 'background' ... If Thrapp reluctant reveal identity from fear individual may suffer merely because of his leftist inclination you may assure him if necessary that US technical investigators are on scene." ¹⁹

What exactly Dan Thrapp told American officials remains a mystery. Thrapp maintained in a recent interview that "to the best of my recollection I did not and I wouldn't have mentioned Stactopoulos. In any event, I have absolutely no recollection of mentioning his name to anyone and I don't think that I did." ²⁰

Judging from Rankin's telegram, Thrapp said nothing to point a finger specifically at Stactopoulos. And General Donovan, who flew to Rome in July to interview Thrapp, told American diplomats that "Thrapp knows nothing." ²¹ Nevertheless, on June 7, Greek Prosecutor Constantinides told Consul-General Gibson that on the basis of Thrapp's statement he was going to question Stactopoulos. ²² No other explanation was ever offered as to why

the *Reuters* stringer was detained.

Thrapp, who had been in Salonika until five days before Polk was murdered, refused to return to Greece. Even the Lippmann Committee made an unsuccessful attempt to get him back, applying pressure through Lyle Wilson, a member of the committee and Washington Bureau Chief of the United Press.²³

Without Thrapp, or any other solid evidence on which to base its charges, the Greek authorities had to come up with another approach. For two months, Stactopoulos was kept under detention without any charges brought against him. Then, on October 1, he made the first of several conflicting confessions in which he admitted being an accomplice to the murder. According to his story, he had agreed to serve as Polk's guide in reaching General Markos and was with Polk in a rowboat the night of May 9 when he was bound, blindfolded, shot in the back of the head, and tossed overboard. Stactopoulos named two well-known Communist leaders, Adam Mouzenides and Vangelis Vasvanas, as being responsible for the murder.

On the basis of the Stactopoulos confession, charges were brought against him, Mouzenides, Vasvanas and Stactopoulos' mother, who allegedly addressed the envelope in which Polk's identity card, taken from his dead body, was returned to the Salonika police. And, with the confession, the Greek government was ready to go to trial.

Torture and Confession

How was the confession obtained? Stactopoulos now says he was tortured for two months while under detention. A number of State Department cables sent during that period suggest that this may have been the case. One noted: "He does not appear to be the type to break easily."²⁴ In a telephone



Salonika in 1948: a city caught in the middle of Greece's civil war.

interview from his home in Greece, where he is now an editor of a daily newspaper, Stactopoulos said, "I was kept in a cell one meter by one and a half meters where you could not even extend your legs. I was tortured and brainwashed. If you were here I could show you the marks on my hands and feet. It was hell, pure hell."²⁵

Stactopoulos recanted his confession in an interview with the Greek newspaper *Ta Nea* last year.²⁶ In a later interview with the Greek magazine *Tachydromos* in January of this year, he said: "I did not kill Polk and I was not involved at all in that affair. I was forced through torture to confess my alleged participation in the murder of Polk. It is a dreadful story that has marked my life and drove me to the edge of insanity. I am alive today because for thirty years now I kept my mouth shut."²⁷

At the time of the confession,

there was widespread surprise and skepticism among journalists and even some American diplomats. One embassy official wrote in October 1948, "Insofar as the legal process is concerned, the Greeks will probably be hard put to prove motive against the criminals. The testimony of Stactopoulos alone, just as under our own law, is not sufficient for a conviction in Greek courts."²⁸

The Lippmann Committee also had its doubts about the Stactopoulos confession. Lippmann asked Harvard Law Professor E.M. Morgan, the country's leading authority on the law of evidence, to review the statements. Morgan wrote back: "These papers do not contain a confession. The contents are an account of the events leading up to the murder of Polk, of the murder itself and of certain subsequent events making clear the innocence of the witness and his ignorance of

any evil plan. At most they make him an accessory after the fact."²⁹

Morgan went on to point out a number of inconsistencies in Stactopoulos' account. He said it was "almost impossible to judge the credibility of the statements" and that the story of the murder was "fantastic."

One detail which bothered Morgan was Stactopoulos' statement that he "heard the whistling sound of a bullet." Morgan noted, "The shot must have been fired from a gun within a foot or two back of him, and unless I am badly misinformed, there could not possibly be a whistling sound of a bullet at such exceedingly short range."³⁰ Indeed, the autopsy report showed that when the bullet was fired, the muzzle of the gun was in direct contact with the back of Polk's head.

Morgan's report to Lippmann concluded: "If they [the confessions] are to be used as evi-

dence of the guilt of the persons named therein, and particularly of Vasvanas and Mouzenides, they are in my opinion so inherently weak as to be practically worthless unless they are corroborated by other credible evidence."

The Greek prosecutors apparently did not share Morgan's opinion. At the trial of Stactopoulos, which began April 12, 1949, they rested their case almost entirely on the confession and on one piece of physical evidence—the envelope which was said to bear the handwriting of Stactopoulos' mother. The trial lasted eight days. Stactopoulos' lawyers did not contest the prosecutor's case. The jury was selected in seven minutes and deliberated for three hours. Stactopoulos' mother was acquitted. Stactopoulos was convicted of complicity in the murder and sentenced to life in prison. Mouzenides and Vasvanas were found guilty in absentia and sentenced to death. (The Communist Party maintained that Mouzenides was already dead—killed in a bombing raid before Polk's murder.)

No one challenged the envelope evidence at the trial. The handwriting samples that were matched against the handwriting on the envelope were not taken by experts. Major Moushountis, who was in charge of the investigation, had called in Stactopoulos' entire family on the pretext that their identity cards were not in order. Frederick Ayer, a former FBI official and member of the American Mission for Aid in Greece who participated in the investigation, recounted the incident in his book, *Yankee G-Man*: "In his [Moushountis'] opinion the handwriting was that of Gregory's mother—and his opinion was confirmed by experts. We even sent the documents later to a laboratory, but they could not positively associate the two handwritings." (Emphasis added).³¹

Recently, new evidence has come to light casting a shadow on the validity of the handwriting evidence. In 1966, a

Salonika newspaper, *Makedoniki Ora*, published a story claiming that Stactopoulos' mother did not address the envelope. It offered to make its information available to the police and the prosecutor's office, but there was no response. Then, earlier this year, Stylianos Papathemelis, a member of Parliament from the centrist EDIK Party, announced that he had discovered the man, now dead, who had addressed the envelope. Samples of the man's handwriting were compared by

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guilty one be whitewashed."

The Lippmann Committee based its findings almost exclusively on the information provided by Donovan. But Donovan's brief report raised more questions than it answered. He praised Stactopoulos' defense attorneys as "men of integrity," but, a few paragraphs later, noted that the jurors, who were permitted to question witnesses, were "in fact better in method and result than were the defense attorneys." He acknowledged that "The prose-

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Adam Mouzenides (left) and Vangelis Vasvanas, Communist leaders convicted in absentia. Vasvanas, in exile, has asked for a new trial.

experts with photostats of the envelope and are said to match. According to Papathemelis, the Greek prosecutor's office now claims that the original envelope is lost.³²

The Lippmann Report

Despite the doubts about the confessions raised by Professor Morgan, despite the weakness of the envelope evidence, despite the questionable circumstances surrounding the trial, despite the contradictory findings of Colonel Kellis, General Donovan reported back to the Lippmann Committee that justice had been done. "That is the simple fact," Donovan wrote Lippmann from Salonika on April 21, 1949. "Your committee can be certain that your original purpose has been realized. That no innocent man be framed and no

cution pivoted its case upon the envelope, admitting that without that element it could not have developed its case," yet he made no attempts to evaluate the validity of that evidence.

The Lippmann Committee's final report was not published until July 1952, three years after Stactopoulos' conviction. It was only eight pages long, with 64 pages of appendices—including Stactopoulos' confession, Donovan's letter from Salonika, Morgan's letter analyzing the confessions, and a transcript of a CBS broadcast about the Polk affair. Only two thousand copies were published. It was as if the committee preferred to forget the whole affair.

The stated reason for the delay in publication was the hope that the actual murderers would be apprehended and tried. But the real reason seemed to be that no one wanted to write the report. In

February 1951, Lippmann wrote a colleague on the committee: "So far as I am concerned, that report has been completed, but Bill Donovan—though he has made innumerable promises—has never produced his part of the report. What is more, he has discouraged Guy Martin [Assistant Counsel] ... For reasons I can't fathom Ernest [Lindley] has never found the time to finish his part of it ... I hate to leave a job of this kind in such a messy condition."³³

The report itself seems to cover up more than it reveals. Despite such lofty lines as "freedom of the press would be a mockery if journalists can be murdered with impunity," the report is full of excuses. Chief among these is why the committee didn't make more of a fuss when its investigator, Colonel Kellis, was recalled. According to the report, the committee protested to the State Department about this "grave violation of Secretary Marshall's instructions." But the matter was left to Donovan: "General Donovan had taken occasion to impress on Greek officials the necessity of exploring fully the leads which pointed to the Right as well as those pointing toward the Left. He advised the committee that he was satisfied that it would be done ... As a result, plans for sending Colonel Kellis back to Greece were abandoned."³⁴

Relying on Greek government officials to investigate the Right was on the order of Nixon asking John Mitchell to investigate Watergate. Nevertheless, the committee never questioned Donovan's assertions.

Ernest Lindley, a Lippmann Committee member who had written favorably about the State Department while at *Newsweek*³⁵ before he was appointed to the Department's Policy Planning Council (1961—1969), wrote to Lippmann before the report was published, expressing his concern that the report "perhaps tells too much, especially about Kellis."³⁶ And William Baxter, head of the State Department's

Greek desk who reviewed an early draft of the report in May 1949, wrote Lippmann asking him to revise the section on Kellis' recall. According to Baxter, it was the Air Force, not the State Department, that was responsible for Kellis' ouster.

Despite Lindley's and Baxter's objections, the account of the State Department's "interference" with the investigation was not changed. But the report curiously makes no mention of any of Kellis' information that pointed to a right-wing conspiracy — information which Kellis had reported in detail to Lindley. Instead, the report glosses over the recall, stating: "The committee has no reason to believe and does not suggest that its independent investigator would eventually have produced evidence different from that which was presented at the Stactopoulos trial."³⁷

Equally striking by its omission is any mention of Professor Morgan's letter about the Stactopoulos confession. While his letter is reprinted in full as an appendix to the report, no attempt is made to answer or explain the serious doubts he raised.

Perhaps the most questionable aspect of the report is its methodology. "The committee and its counsel," the report states, "held to the view that the mystery could not be solved deductively — that is to say, by attempting to decide who had the most to gain by the murder of Polk. The committee concluded that only a solution of the crime tested in open court could ever settle the case."³⁸ Yet by discarding deductive reasoning, the committee may have been throwing away common sense as well.

Both Greek and American officials believed that the Left had murdered Polk in order to discredit the Right. Gibson, the Consul-General in Salonika, reported to the Secretary of State: "My personal opinion is that Polk's murder was planned by the Cominform [the Communist Information Bureau established in 1947] and was carried out by the Communist



Donovan and Burdett at Stactopoulos' trial. Did the two help steer the investigation away from the Right?

Party of Greece in order to throw the blame of the murder to the right, thus to defame Greece abroad and to stop the application of the Marshall Plan to Greece ..."³⁹

But Gibson must have realized — and the Lippmann Committee could certainly have deduced — that if the Communists had murdered Polk they would have had an extremely difficult time pinning the death on the Right. After all, the right-wing government, not the Left, would be in control of the investigation and was likely to do everything in its power to throw the blame back

on the Communists.

In the end, the Lippmann report endorses the "solution" to the crime put forward by the Greek prosecutors. "The Committee is satisfied that Stactopoulos and his mother received a fair trial," the report states. "Moreover, it is satisfied that Stactopoulos was in fact an accessory, that he was the 'finger man' who led Polk into the trap where his murderers were waiting for him."⁴⁰

The committee's report was signed by Walter Lippmann; Ernest Lindley; Phelps Adams of the *New York Sun*; Morgan Beatty, commentator for NBC;

columnist Marquis Childs; Kenneth Crawford, former president of the American Newspaper Guild; Elmer Davis, commentator for ABC; columnist Peter Edson; Benjamin McKelway, editor of the *Washington Star*; Eugene Meyer, chairman of the board of *The Washington Post*; John Reichman of the International News Service; James Reston of *The New York Times*; Albert Warner, Washington bureau chief of the Mutual Broadcasting System; Lyle Wilson of United Press; and Paul Wootton of the *New Orleans Times-Picayune*. Some of the most illustrious names in

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American journalism at the time had put their seal of approval on the Greek government's investigation of the murder of George Polk.

Winston Burdett Reports

The CBS investigation conducted by Winston Burdett took a somewhat more critical posture. On April 27, 1949,

yet been told. Perhaps it can not be for a long time in a country ridden by civil war, but the investigation should continue if the Polk case is to reach a detailed and complete solution. This is an unfinished story."

Yet for all his reservations, Burdett accepted the premise of the Greek Security Police that the Communist Party was responsible for his colleague's death. And, despite his qualms about the trial, he concluded

vestigators would be of no help and possibly of great hindrance at this time." He feared, he told CBS, that the police would be put "on the spotlight" and that they would not be able to "conduct their own interrogations in thorough going way."⁴¹

Burdett had also expressed criticisms of other reporters in Greece to American officials. One State Department cable reported that Burdett and his assistant, John Secondari,

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Stactopoulos and his mother: he got a life sentence; she was acquitted despite her admitted role as an accessory after the murder.

CBS broadcast "Report No. 4 on the Murder of George Polk." Burdett listed a number of inconsistencies contained in Stactopoulos' confession and expressed shock about some aspects of the trial. He noted, for example, that there were "no rules of evidence at all," that "from the bench came a shower of leading questions that would have made an American lawyer in an American court demand a retrial then and there," and that "one political thesis as to the character of the crime seemed to be accepted by everybody from the outset."

Burdett concluded his broadcast with these words: "The Greek Police say their investigation into the murder will go on. It should! The whole truth about Polk's death has not

with General Donovan that it had been conducted fairly.

Burdett's own role throughout the investigation is enigmatic. He was more than just an observer, working closely with Donovan and the Greek police to direct the inquiry. In a broadcast August 20, 1948, he noted, "The Greek police, it seemed to us, had devoted about ninety percent of their energy to examining one angle, the Communist angle, and ten percent to investigating other possibilities." But earlier, Burdett had tried to close off other avenues of inquiry. In June, when he heard that the Lippmann Committee was thinking of sending some of its members to Greece, Burdett cabled CBS officials in New York that "presence of any further special in-

"commented strongly upon the attitude of the majority of the American press correspondents in Greece, who, they said, were giving their newspapers a very distorted view of the situation in Greece ... They were amazed that certain of their colleagues who had excellent reputations elsewhere had apparently fallen into the trap of biased reporting."⁴² At the top of Burdett's list of biased reporters was Hadjiargyris of the *Christian Science Monitor*. Hadjiargyris was, at the time, a suspect in the case, and Burdett recommended to an embassy official that he be given the "third degree."⁴³

If Burdett was having trouble figuring out exactly where he stood on the Polk case, it may have had something to do with

his own schizophrenic career. He had been hired as a stringer by CBS in 1940 when, he later revealed, he was a "fanatical and hotly dogmatic" member of the Communist Party.⁴⁴ During the war he had acted as a spy for the Soviet Union in Finland and Turkey. He quit the Communist Party, by his own account, in 1942 and became strongly anti-Communist. In 1955, Burdett testified before the Senate Internal Security Committee and provided the names of other journalists — many of whom he had worked with at the *Brooklyn Eagle* — who he said had been Communists.

Burdett's assignment in Greece to follow the Polk investigation came at a time in his life when he had come to believe that his own wife had been killed by the Communists. In his Senate testimony, he told how his first wife, Lea Schiavi, an Italian journalist, had been murdered in northern Iran in 1942. Burdett, who was in India at the time, rushed back to conduct an investigation. He concluded that his wife had been killed by Italian fascists for her anti-Mussolini activities. But, several years later, an American intelligence officer told him that Schiavi was murdered at the instigation of the Russians, because she had discovered a secret Soviet training camp for Yugoslav guerrillas in northern Iran.

Nevertheless, CBS seemed satisfied with Burdett's efforts. Despite his statement in "Report No. 4" that the story was still unfinished, CBS closed the books on Polk immediately after the Stactopoulos trial. To this day, the network has refused to open its archives on the Polk affair to researchers.⁴⁵

Col. K. Dissents

"I believed then, and I still hold to this opinion, that we should have conducted an honest, penetrating and impartial investigation. Unfortunately, my colleagues in this investigation had a different view and their position prevailed." This

remarkable admission was confirmed in an open letter to eight Greek newspapers. It was dated March 8, 1977, and signed by James Kellis, the man General Donovan brought to Greece to assist him in the Polk investigation and who was recalled when he began probing right-wing involvement in the murder. Kellis was no Communist sympathizer: he had served with the OSS in Greece and China, and, after his aborted Polk investigation, worked with the CIA in Korea and Washington as the Director of the agency's Operations Division until 1954. He is now a vice president of United Technologies Corp. and a professor of political science at Fairfield University in Connecticut.

His open letter continued: "In this instance, we violated some basic precepts which affected Greece and America. Whoever killed George Polk wanted to silence him and was violating the freedom of the press. Also, my impression of the direction of the investigation was that it violated the basic rules of evidence, law and morality."

Where might Kellis' investigation have led? One of his leads was that British intelligence agents might have been involved in the conspiracy and in the cover-up. When Kellis returned to the U.S. at the end of July 1948, he reported these suspicions to Ernest Lindley. In his memorandum prepared after their meeting, Lindley noted: "Col. K. attached significance to the fact that Zervas (Rightist leader who was forced out of the government some time ago), who had blamed the Communists at the beginning of the investigation ... had later told K the Communists did not commit the murder but the British intelligence Service was involved in it ... K also noticed that Randall Coate [British information officer] was transferred out maybe for no reason in particular, but nevertheless this is an interesting point ..." ⁴⁶

Coate's possible involvement in the death of Polk has never

been fully explored. He was known to have met with the CBS correspondent in Salonika the day he disappeared. At the time, Coate was a British intelligence officer operating under cover of the British Information Office in Salonika which he headed. Three days before Polk's body was discovered, Coate suddenly left for Norway. His secretary left the next day, closing down the information office. It never opened again.

Kellis recalled in a recent interview

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Karl Rankin (left), Charge d'Affaires in Athens, cabled Secretary of State George Marshall requesting that Kellis be removed from the investigation.

terview that he had first become suspicious of Coate when he learned from Greek police officers that lobster shells had been discovered in Coate's vacated house.⁴⁷ The autopsy performed on Polk showed that he had eaten lobster approximately one hour before his death. According to Stactopoulos' confession, he and Polk had dined at the Luxembourg restaurant in Salonika the evening of the murder, and Polk had ordered lobster. But Kellis, in retracing Polk's last steps, visited the Luxembourg and found out that the restaurant had not served lobster that night and that no one could remember having seen Polk.⁴⁸

Coate was contacted in Norway by an American official and admitted: "He might well have been the last person to have met Mr. Polk before the latter's death."⁴⁹ But the British intelligence officer never returned to Greece for further questioning, and the matter was

dropped. Kellis was removed from the scene, and Burdett, who knew of Polk's meeting with Coate, made no effort to interview him — curious, since he took an active role in trying to bring U.P.'s Dan Thrapp back to Greece for questioning.

Kellis believes, to this day, that the British were involved. "Wittingly, or unwittingly," he said in a recent interview, "Coate had Polk transferred to other people, not the Communists, who killed him." Kellis

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trated the cover-up with the help of the American Embassy in Athens and General Donovan.

The Case Comes Undone

Whatever the extent of Coate's involvement, it is becoming increasingly clear that the "solution" to the murder of George Polk put forward by the Greek police in 1948 is full of holes. In an interview published June 7, 1976, in *Ta Nea*, Greece's largest daily newspaper, Stactopoulos recanted the confession on which all the convictions were based. He offered this explanation of why he was framed: "The American journalists that were coming then to Greece, before the Koreas and the Vietnams, were liberal, opposed to the establishment. They would send dispatches favoring the Communists. Like Homer Bigart and Dan Thrapp. The murder took place so that American public opinion would turn against the Democratic Army in Greece."⁵²

Even the director of the Athens police at the time of Polk's murder, I. Panopoulos, believed that Stactopoulos was framed. In a 1956 interview with a Greek newspaper, he said, "Stactopoulos was arrested because someone had to be arrested as the guilty party ... and his name came up as the most appropriate man for the role of victim."⁵³

Vangelis Vasanas, one of the two men convicted of the murder in absentia, has also recently challenged the case against him. Now living in exile in Rumania, he gave an interview to the Greek weekly magazine *Tachydromos* in which he said: "Do you know what difficulties we were faced with during that period? To come down from Eastern Macedonia and Thrace, to go and kill Polk and then to come back? Oh, no. That is impossible."⁵⁴ Vasanas' denials could be taken as self-serving, except that he has offered to return to Greece to

stand trial for the murder of Polk. The Greek government has refused his request.⁵⁵

The brother and a cousin of Adam Mouzenides, the other man convicted in absentia, have recently stated that they were pressured into testifying falsely at the trial. At the time, they had said that Mouzenides was in Salonika when Polk was murdered. They have now recanted that testimony and, though Mouzenides is dead, are asking for a new trial.⁵⁶

In January of this year, Stactopoulos announced his intention to file a petition calling for a re-examination of the trial. Members of the Greek Parliament are attempting to set up a special investigating committee to reopen the Polk case. And the Greek press has covered the recent developments extensively, with many newspapers demanding a new investigation.

Yet the American press has

remained strangely quiet. When Stactopoulos requested a re-examination of his trial in January, the Associated Press carried a small item on its wire. *The New York Times* picked up the story the next day, giving it four inches in its early edition, but dropping it altogether in later editions. Steven Roberts, the *Times* correspondent in Greece who has written extensively about every aspect of Greek life from toilet habits to slippers, has not written anything about the Polk case.

The Washington Post ran a three-line item in its "For the Record" section about Stactopoulos' request for a new trial. So far as can be determined, none of the networks or other major media have picked up the story.

In June 1948, CBS' chief European correspondent, Howard K. Smith, broadcast these words: "All reporters

everywhere are vitally concerned in finding the answer to the death of George Polk. The survival of truth and the free flow of news are at stake. In these days when more and more obstacles are put in the paths of reporters who are trying to learn the truth and to communicate that truth to readers and listeners, the murder of a good reporter is more than the death of one man. It is the murder of truth and the truth is having enough trouble surviving these days."

If the truth lost out in the Polk case, the American press must shoulder much of the blame. Both the Greek and American governments had a political alliance to protect and a vested interest in finding a Communist perpetrator. If anyone was to come up with the truth it would have had to be the press. But in selecting one of the chief architects of Ameri-

can cold-war policy to be its eyes and ears, the Lippmann Committee compromised its investigation from the start. And in not fighting the recall of Colonel Kellis they allowed it to be subverted.

General Donovan's report to the Lippmann Committee, that no innocent man was framed and no guilty one whitewashed, may turn out, if Stactopoulos is correct, to be the exact mirror image of the truth. Colonel Kellis got somewhat closer to the truth in his recent open letter: "I wished America then and subsequently in our relations with Greece was complying to the rules of law and morality ... Compromises on pragmatic grounds eventually turn to haunt us."⁵⁷

Had these sentiments been expressed publicly 29 years ago, justice might not have been a victim in the Polk affair. ■

NOTES TO TEXT

1. Letter from James Kellis to eight Greek newspapers and the Overseas Correspondents Association, March 8, 1977.
2. Quoted in *Front Page*, the newspaper of the New York Newspaper Guild, June 1948.
3. Telegram No. 306, 2/20/48, Am. Emb. Athens to Dept. of State.
4. Desp. No. 413, 4/7/48, Am. Emb. Athens to Dept. of State.
5. Frederic Sonderm, "Our War-Time Spymaster Carries On," *Reader's Digest*, October 1947.
6. Telegram No. 730, 6/7/48, Dept. of State to Am. Emb. Athens. This telegram, signed by Secretary Marshall, was sent by the State Department on behalf of CBS to Winston Burdett in Athens.
7. Encl. No. 1 to Desp. No. 145, 7/27/48, Am. Consulate, Salonika to Dept. of State.
8. *The New York Times*, May 25, 1948.
9. Telegram No. 217, 5/21/48, Am. Cons. Salonika to Dept. of State.
10. Encl. No. 5 to Desp. No. 88, 5/25/48, Am. Cons. Salonika to Dept. of State.
11. Interview with Kellis, March 30, 1977.
12. Telegram No. 1355, 7/17/48, Am. Emb. Athens to Dept. of State.
13. Interview with Kellis, April 2, 1977. Also letter from Kellis to Ernest Lindley, May 23, 1956: "When it was learned that I expressed some doubts to you, General Donovan and the committee, certain individuals attempted to label me a 'leftist' and I was investigated. My phone and mail was tapped and I and my family were placed under surveillance."
14. Memorandum of conversation between Kellis and Lindley, Washington, D.C., July 29-30, 1948.
15. Telegram No. 1537, 8/7/48, Am. Emb. Athens to Dept. of State.
16. Memorandum of conversation between Secretary Marshall and members of the Lippmann Committee, May 24, 1948. The memorandum was written by J.C. Harsch, secretary of the committee.
17. Letter from Lippmann to Irving Gilman of the Newsman's Commission, October 4, 1948.
18. Desp. No. 157, 8/17/48, Am. Cons. Salonika to Dept. of State.
19. Telegram No. 57, 5/28/48, Am. Emb. Rome.
20. Telephone interview with Thrapp, February 21, 1977.
21. Quoted in an official communication from Oliver M. Marcy, Second Secretary at the American Embassy in Athens to William Baxter, Asst. Chief, Greek, Turkish and Iranian Affairs, Dept. of State, October 7, 1948.
22. Encl. No. 1 to Desp. No. 102, 6/9/48, Am. Cons. Salonika to Dept. of State.
23. Telegram No. 787, 6/15/48, Dept. of State to Am. Emb. Athens, from Lippmann to Burdett, signed by Secretary Marshall. Also Telegram No. 1065, 6/13/48, Am. Emb. Athens to Dept. of State, from Burdett to Lippmann, signed by Charge d'Affaires Rankin.
24. Telegram No. 327, 9/7/48, Am. Cons. Salonika to Dept. of State.
25. Telephone interview with Gregory Stactopoulos, March 17, 1977.
26. *Ta Nea*, June 7, 1976, published in Athens.
27. *Tachydomos*, weekly magazine, January 20, 1977, p. 60.
28. Letter from Marcy to Baxter, *op. cit.*
29. Letter from E.M. Morgan to Lippmann, March 17, 1948.
30. *Ibid.*
31. Frederick Ayer, *Yankee G-Man*, Henry Regnery, Chicago, Ill., 1957, p. 294.
32. Telephone interview with Stylianos Papathemelis, March 26, 1977.
33. Letter from Lippmann to Eugene Meyer, February 19, 1951.
34. *The George Polk Case: Report of the Overseas Writers*, Washington, D.C. p. 9.
35. *Current Biography 1943*, page 448. In 1942 a book titled *How War Came* written by Ernest Lindley with Forrest Davis, came under attack by critics as "in effect an apologia for our diplomacy" that "comes very close to representing the most elaborate and adequate justification thus far put forward by the State Department in justification of its policies." Later in articles in *Newsweek*, "Lindley attempts to answer the critics of the American State Department and to defend its policies."
36. Letter from Lindley to Lippmann, May 12, 1949, Washington, D.C.
37. *The George Polk Case*, *op. cit.*, p. 11.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 55.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
41. Telegram No. 1051, 6/10/48, Am. Emb. Athens to Dept. of State.
42. Encl. No. 1 to Desp. No. 661, 6/13/48, Am. Emb. Athens to Dept. of State.
43. *Ibid.*
44. See *Strategy and Tactics of World Communism*, Hearings of the Committee to Investigate the Internal Security Act and other Internal Security Laws of the Committee on the Judiciary, June 29, 1955.
45. CBS' Legal and Information Services departments both refused permission to examine their files on the Polk case. Ellen Ehrlich, Director of Information Services, told us, "I am afraid your request has to be turned down. We don't open our files to anyone on the outside."
46. Memorandum of conversation between Lindley and Kellis, *op. cit.*
47. Interview with Kellis, April 2, 1977.
48. *Ibid.*
49. Quoted in a letter from Oliver M. Marcy, Second Secretary of Am. Emb. in Athens, to George Melas, Greek Minister of Justice, Sept. 18, 1948.
50. Interview with Kellis, March 29, 1977.
51. Constantine Hadjigaryris, *The Polk Affair: The Role of Foreign Agencies in Greece*, (in Greek), Gutenberg Publishing House, Athens, Greece, 1975.
52. Interview published June 7, 1976, Athens, Greece.
53. Quoted by Costas Yerokolos in the Athens *To Vima*, Jan. 23, 1977, p. 7.
54. Interview with Evangelis Vasvanas, *Tachydomos*, Jan. 2, 1975, Athens, Greece.
55. Reported in *Ta Nea*, Feb. 14, 1977.
56. Interview with Stelios Mouzenides, brother of Adam Mouzenides, *Ta Nea*, June 11, 1976.
57. Kellis letter to Greek newspapers, *op. cit.*

WHERE DO THEY STAND NOW?

The following people were directly involved in the investigation of George Polk's murder either as members of the Overseas Writers Committee, the Newsmen's Commission or as correspondents based in Greece at the time. MORE asked if they believed that the original inquiry was conducted in a thorough and just manner, and whether new evidence warrants a re-examination of the case.

The Overseas Writers Committee (The Lippmann Committee)

Marquis Childs: *United Features Syndicate; now a syndicated columnist.*

"I was convinced at the time it was a cover-up. The committee did not know the facts. I had simply hoped that the real facts would come out. And I am happy that they now have. We were not shown that information [Col. Kellis' report]."

James Reston: *The New York Times; now a columnist for The Times.*

"I don't really remember if I was a member of the committee, but am told that I was. If there is anything I can do to help [your investigation], I will. Anything that indicates that governments have been fiddling with the truth ought to be exposed."

Ernest Lindley: *Newsweek Washington bureau chief, president of Overseas Writers Association; now retired.*

"I do not know how much substance there is to what you call 'new developments.' The summary you gave me over the telephone sounded a good deal like the old propaganda which, years ago, was energetically disseminated by the Communists and their friends in Greece and this country. Whether new evidence justifies new legal action is for the responsible authorities in Greece to determine."

"The Overseas Writers report was based on the findings of its counsel, William J. Donovan, a lawyer and public servant of the highest distinction and probity, who, as organizer and head of the OSS, had been the highest-ranking intelligence officer in this country during World War II. Both Walter Lippmann, chairman of the Overseas Writers Committee, and I, then president of the organization, had known him personally for many years. We both regarded him as the person best qualified to serve as our counsel, which he did without compensation and at his own expense, as a generous service to the American press. The inquiry proceeded without pre-judgement as to the political affiliation of the murderer or murderers of George Polk. We successfully resisted attempts by politically motivated persons and groups in the United States to share control of the inquiry. General Donovan was assisted by, among others, one of his former Lieutenants [Col. Kellis] who had served with the Greek guerrillas. In the end, General Donovan concluded that the Greek trial, which he attended, was fairly conducted and that its verdict was justified. It would take solid evidence to convince me that General Donovan's seasoned, impartial judgement was wrong."

Newsmen's Commission To Investigate the Murder of George Polk

William Price: *New York Daily News and secretary of commission; now a freelance writer.*

"I think it was obvious that the facts were being stood on their head, and that the 'Donovan-Lippmann' committee was not playing an objective role. It appeared to many of us that there was

a big cover-up taking place and that the committee was part of that cover-up. There most certainly should be a new investigation. A chance for the truth to come out would be an honor to George, would help to protect other journalists and would acquaint the American people with the way the news gets manipulated."

Irving Gilman: *New York Newspaper Guild and executive of the commission; now retired.*

"At the time we felt the trial was simply a stage-managed affair, a sham. There should, unequivocally, be a new investigation. Reporters' lives are always in danger. If repressive forces can murder with impunity, then any opportunity to put them on trial, however feeble, is an effort in the direction of justice."

John Donovan: *NBC and one of the commission investigators; now a freelance writer.*

"When Polk was murdered anyone who questioned the view that 'the Communists did it' was slandered as a Communist himself. NBC dismissed me as a result of the stand I took at the time. It was the 'patriotic' thing to do, 'a matter of national interest,' so all the liberal voices — or most of them — shut up. Instead they gave awards in Polk's name, while his real murderers went free. I believe that an impartial investigation of the Polk murder is absolutely necessary. It is a national disgrace, and an indictment of the American press that the case has not been reopened before this."

Constantine Poulos: *Overseas News Agency and commission investigator; now retired.*

"The Greek Government found that someone had to be blamed and Stactopoulos was the patsy. The whole thing was a whitewash. There was a feeling that the British had a lot to do with Polk's murder or that they knew more than they ever said. Donovan wanted to blame the Communists at any cost. There should be a new trial. Probably the Newspaper Guild could press for that."

CBS

Winston Burdett: *CBS Rome correspondent then and now. Conducted investigation for CBS.*

"I don't want to be quoted and don't quote me that I don't want to be quoted."

Alexander Kendrick: *CBS Middle East correspondent; now retired.*

"I felt that the trial was a whitewash. It was completely illogical for the Communists to have killed a journalist who was on the way to see their chief [Markos] and give them their side of the story. It struck me the way the press covered the trial without asking any questions. The doubts I expressed at the time certainly helped my being listed in 'Red Channels' [the broadcasting blacklist of the 1950s]. In Greece, at the time, the press was led by the nose and swallowed everything that was handed to them. It was the easiest way to cover a story. I would like to see a new investigation simply to set things straight. The wheels of justice grind slowly but they grind awfully fine."

Howard K. Smith: *CBS correspondent; now ABC nightly news commentator.*

"I originally suspected the right-wingers because George was rather liberal in his views. When the verdict was delivered against the Communists I was very much surprised. I saw no motive for it. I wish I could have been part of the investigation but CBS took it out of my hands. At that point I had to rely on my man Winston Burdett [who conducted the investigation for CBS]. I certainly think there should be a new investigation given the new evidence, or new questioning of old evidence. I think the correctness of a judgement in any field should be gone after, especially in an assassination case. I think the facts ought to be known." ■

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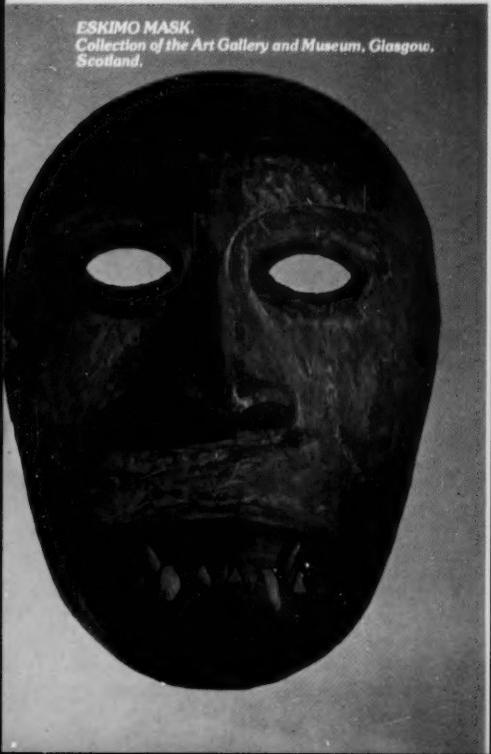
M5



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NOOTKA WOODEN HOUSE FRONT. Nootka Sound, British Columbia.
Photo: Carmelo Guadagno. Museum of the American Indian, New York City.



ESKIMO MASK.
Collection of the Art Gallery and Museum, Glasgow,
Scotland.



NISKA FRONTEL HEADDRESS. Nass River, British Columbia.
Photo: Carmelo Guadagno. Museum of the American Indian, New York City.



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"...You Will Ruin Your Career"

William Donovan to William Polk

William Polk is George Polk's brother. He was 19 at the time of the murder and dropped out of school for a year to go to Greece as a member of the Newsmen's Commission. He attended the Stactopoulos trial, but his investigation was limited by lack of funds and access to individuals involved in the case. He served on the State Department's Policy Planning Council from 1961-64 and subsequently was president of the Adlai Stevenson Institute of the University of Chicago. He is now living in Cairo, Egypt, where he works as a consultant to several American corporations and is writing a book.

BY WILLIAM POLK

For General Donovan, the issue in Greece was simple: Greece was the battleground in the actual, if undeclared, war between the United States and the Soviet Union. The Communists must have killed my brother to use his death against America's Greek allies. If it turned out that the Communists had not done it, that some other group—either a branch of the Greek government, some political faction within the government, or a secret terrorist organization—was responsible, that fact would damage American will to stay the course against the Communists. Therefore, the best thing that could be done, no matter who was guilty, was to get the case behind us.

At the time, that was what I thought his aim was: decently to bury the issue.

When I challenged him on the lack of thoroughness of the investigation, General Donovan was furious. What was I trying to do? I tried to explain that I felt I owed my brother the one thing he would have wanted, to try hard enough to find out the basic reporter's questions—who, why, how, etc.—that others might be at least a bit deterred from trying to kill reporting by killing reporters.

To Donovan this appeared not only silly, but dangerous: "Why are you asking such difficult

questions and making things so complicated? Don't you understand we are in the middle of a war? You are a smart young man from a good family. If you keep on, you will ruin your career."

We were standing on a street in the Athens evening, just at the end of the Saloniaka trial. Both of us were tired. I was terribly discouraged: both young and way over my head in the macabre politics of 1949 Greece. The atmosphere was that of Eric Ambler's *Journey into Fear*; things were not as they seemed and people were not what they said. The air seemed to smell of intrigue and fear. Probably I would have given in to the helplessness of it all. But General Donovan, ironically, made that impossible. I had to keep on searching; I could not trade a brother for a better job.

I do not pretend to have learned much in these years. Many of the key people simply disappeared or have never talked. About them, of course, little that I could do mattered. But there were leads that could have been followed, should have been followed, and were not. For example, when General Donovan

rightly scoffed at my lack of knowledge of Greek politics and asked who had been missed in the investigation, I mentioned the right-wing terrorist organization known as "X." He laughed sardonically and said that was just how much I knew of Greece: there was no such organization. To confirm his statement, he turned to the AP correspondent Socrates Chaklis, who was standing with us, and Chaklis laughingly said the "X" was a myth in the minds of several critics of the Government. A few years later, the mythical "X," led by General Grivas, fought a long bloody guerrilla war against the British in Cyprus and was a major factor in the Junta's overthrow of the Greek government in 1967.

Gregory Stactopoulos was more a symptom than an actor in the underworld atmosphere of the time: one after another, he had worked with or for each group in power—the Italians, the Nazis, the Communists, and the British. He was right out of Eric Ambler. What role he played in my brother's murder I do not know. At the time he said he was an unwitting and unwilling accomplice; now he says he was tortured into saying that. Some reporters at the trial thought that he was under sedation, and al-

though I know little about dope, he did not stand or speak quite like a fully sober man. I saw him again in 1951. He was then in the Saloniaka police headquarters—not in jail—and he seemed more coherent. As far as I could see or hear, he was not ill-treated. Even then, he was, from time to time, let out for strolls on the streets.

For almost thirty years, I have been trying to find the missing pieces of the puzzle. But whoever killed my brother will turn out to be less important than the attempt to find out. What I wanted, and what I am sure he would have wanted, is that we asked and kept asking. Had no one asked, the sources of news and the value of reporting might have been very different in our generation.

It is fascinating that after all this time the case has come alive again. So many other great issues have come and gone. But, curiously, especially in Greece, this case has become a sort of test of political conscience. I believe there is a moral obligation as well as, at last, a chance for the Greek government to attempt to settle the case. It is difficult for me to believe that, after nearly thirty years, the truth, wherever it may lead, could do serious damage to Greece or America. It might, indeed, help us both. ■

Wide World



William Polk, George's brother, was 19 at the time of the trial. Donovan warned him that if he continued to challenge the investigation it would ruin his career.

OVERSEAS WRITERS COMMITTEE REPORT

As soon as the main facts about the murder of George Polk became known, the peculiar importance of the case was appreciated by the American press and radio. Polk was murdered deliberately for political reasons while he was working as a foreign correspondent on a story of great interest to the American people.

That much seemed evident and is now undisputed. His body was found floating in the harbor of Salonika on May 16, 1948. His arms and legs had been bound with rope, and he had been shot in the back of the head. The coroner estimated that the body had been in the water about seven days. Except for some papers, he had not been robbed. His identity card was mailed to the Salonika police. It was, therefore, plain that the murder was the work not of an individual assassin but of a gang, and that the murderers wished not to conceal but to draw attention to the crime. And it was also established that Polk was murdered while he was attempting to reach the headquarters of the guerrilla forces. There is no doubt that Polk's purpose was to obtain news and information to be broadcast and published. The committee is satisfied that Polk's efforts to make contact with Markos and to cross the lines of the Greek civil war were the actions of a bold, enterprising and adventurous American reporter determined to see for himself and to report what he saw. Whether he used the best judgment in seeking to reach the guerrillas from Greek territory rather than through Yugoslavia is arguable. But it does not alter the fact that his errand was legitimate and that he was the victim of a plot to murder him with the deliberate intent of influencing the course of events in Greece.

Many other American correspondents have lost their lives while they were at work. But so far as we know, Polk is the only American correspondent abroad who was murdered for political reasons. It was, therefore, the plain duty and interest of his colleagues to act. It was their duty and interest to do what they could to make known to the world their determination to use the power of the American press and radio to protect the security of American correspondents. For obviously the freedom of the press would be a mockery if journalists can be murdered with impunity.

The problem of the committee was to decide how the power of the American press and radio could be exerted most effectively and wisely on behalf of the security of American correspondents. The Polk case posed this problem in an extraordinarily difficult form. For Polk was murdered in a distant land torn by civil war—civil war which in its turn was an episode in a world wide conflict.

Moreover, we must, in order to give a true account of the work of the committee, note that Polk was a severe critic of the Greek Government, and that, therefore, though it was evident that the crime was political, it was not self-evident what the political motive was.

The Greek Government asserted from the beginning that Polk had been murdered by the Communists in order to discredit the Greek Government in the eyes of the American people. The Communists asserted from the beginning that he had been murdered by agents of the Right, because they wished to silence a dangerous critic and to discourage other American reporters. It was also possible, in the view of the committee and its counsel, that the crime was the work of a terrorist gang operating independently either from the Extreme Left or from the Extreme Right.

The committee and its counsel held to the view that the mystery could not be solved deductively—that is to say, by attempting to decide who had the most to gain by the murder of Polk. The committee concluded that only a solution of the crime tested in open court could ever settle the case. Therefore, though they examined all the theories, they were resolved not to tie themselves to any of them.

The committee's first step was to ask for an appointment with the Secretary of State. At the interview, which took place in Secretary Marshall's office on Monday, May 24, 1948, it transpired that American officials in Greece had reported to the Department that the murder had occurred and that the Greek authorities were investigating it and had expressed the opinion that the investigation was being properly conducted at that stage. No representation had been made to the Greek Government, however, nor were any then contemplated. Secretary Marshall, when he had acquainted himself with the facts, instructed our Embassy in Greece to designate a qualified

member of its staff to follow developments closely and to express informally to the Greek Government the deep concern of the State Department, of the American press and radio, and of the American public in general, that the crime should be solved and its perpetrators punished. He also directed the Embassy to keep the State Department informed in detail of all developments, promised the committee access to all official information in the case, and designated Mr. William O. Baxter, of the Greek desk to maintain liaison with the committee. (The text of the memorandum which formed the basis of the conference with Secretary Marshall is printed in the appendix.) Two members of the staff of the American Embassy in Greece were designated to follow the Greek investigation daily. Similar instructions were sent to Mr. Raleigh Gibson, Consul-General in Salonika. The American authorities in Greece reported also that the British Police Mission then engaged in training the Greek police in Scotland Yard methods were actively cooperating with the Greek authorities in investigating the Polk murder.

The committee also discussed in a preliminary way with Secretary Marshall two other possible courses of action: (1) the assignment to Greece of trained American police investigators to check on the Greek official inquiries and (2) an independent American "under-cover" investigation of the murder. The committee made no specific proposals along either of these lines, as it had not yet had the opportunity to obtain the views of General William J. Donovan, who only that day had been asked and had consented to serve as its counsel. It had been with these possibilities in mind, however, that the committee had sought the aid of the organizer and head of the wartime Office of Strategic Services. They felt that General Donovan was qualified, pre-eminently by ability and prestige and uniquely by experience, to give it advice and assistance.

On May 26, a subcommittee conferred with Mr. Dwight P. Griswold, Administrator of American Aid to Greece, who was then in Washington. He, like Secretary Marshall, was cooperative. He suggested that the chief of his own security division for the past year, Mr. Frederick Ayer, might be of service. Mr. Ayer, a former officer of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, was then training his successor, preparatory to his own return to the United States. As a result of the meeting with Mr. Griswold, Mr. Ayer was relieved of all other duties and his return to the United States was deferred. For the next two months, he gave full time to the Polk inquiry.

The committee apprised the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, and the chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, Rep. Charles A. Eaton, of its objectives and initial activities. Both immediately offered their full support. Senator Vandenberg asked Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., to interest himself in the matter in behalf of the Foreign Relations Committee. A former journalist, Senator Lodge on his own initiative, prior to the formation of the Overseas Writers Committee, had written to the State Department requesting full information about the investigation of Polk's death.

The Greek Ambassador to the United States, Mr. Vassili D. Denndramis, was informed of the creation of the committee, and an appointment with him was arranged for June 3, when General Donovan could be present. Meanwhile, on May 28, Ambassador Denndramis had delivered to the Secretary of State a note from his government, setting forth the steps taken in investigating the murder and promising that "justice will be done, regardless of what the investigation may disclose."

From June 3, a major part of the day-to-day work of the committee was assumed by General Donovan, as its counsel. He himself made four trips to Greece. Mr. Guy Martin, of the Washington office of his law firm, regularly read and made digests of the official reports from Greece to the State Department. To facilitate cooperation with General Donovan and his staff, an executive committee was formed, comprising Messrs. Walter Lippmann, Marquis Childs, Ernest K. Lindley, Joseph Harsch, Benjamin M. McKelway and Phelps Adams.

It would prolong this report unduly to describe all the actions of policy and procedure which arose. A brief summary of a few of them may be of value, however, if only for the information of any

Wide World



Columnist Walter Lippmann, chairman of the Overseas Writers Committee. His report, published in 1952, continued the cover-up of George Polk's murder.

group which may be called upon to undertake a similar task in the future.

One of the first of several perplexing questions was raised by a Greek correspondent for an American newspaper.* He had been a close friend of Polk's and had many American friends. He expressed fear that his own life was in danger and sought the aid of his American employer and several prominent American journalists to enable him to leave Greece. The Greek authorities, however, regarded him as a witness of potential importance and were not satisfied that he had disclosed all that he knew about Polk's underground contacts in Greece and the events leading up to Polk's trip to Salonika.

The committee felt that it should take no step which might either frustrate the Greek official investigation or provide an excuse for failure to track down the murderers of Polk. At the same time, it had no way of knowing that this correspondent's fears for his life were not well based.

The committee's answer to this dilemma was, briefly, that (1) The American employer of the correspondent wrote him that he must disclose all that he knew pertaining to the affairs and connections of Polk before he would receive any assistance in leaving Greece; (2) this letter was to be presented to the correspondent personally by General Donovan; (3) General Donovan himself was to interrogate the correspondent, although a representative of the Greek Government could be present and the witness might be represented by counsel if he chose; (4) if the interrogation provided information which might place the life of the witness in danger but did not implicate him in the murder, then General Donovan and the committee would use their best efforts to obtain a safe refuge for him in the United States or some other suitable place. In addition, the Greek Government was requested to provide special police protection to this correspondent: in effect, it was notified that his safety was a matter of special concern to the American press and radio.

Similar problems arose with respect to other persons in Greece and were handled in a similar way. One of these individuals was Polk's young Greek widow, Rea. When General Donovan had satisfied himself that she had told the Greek authorities all she knew, the committee supported her request to leave Greece. She came to the United States with the understanding that she would return to Greece when needed as a trial witness. When the time arrived for her to go back, she was under medical supervision and her doctors advised General Donovan and the committee that she could not stand the ordeal. Fortunately, the Greek prosecutors concluded that her testimony was not essential to the trial of Gregory Stakhtopoulos.

The committee gave much thought to the problems presented by potential sources of information who did not trust the Greek Government or particular Greek prosecutors. It was also aware from the beginning of the possibility that its pressure for the arrest and

punishment of the murderers could result in a frame-up to satisfy the American demand for action. In the end it invariably concluded that the proper course was to keep the primary responsibility fixed on the Greek Government, not only for a full, relentless, and honest investigation and a fair trial but for the safety of those potential witnesses, who, rightly or wrongly, felt they were in danger. General Donovan had the opportunity to interrogate directly these possible sources of information, and on other occasions during the early part of the Greek official investigation, Mr. Ayer was present.

The committee considered from time to time the offer of a reward for information leading to the arrest and prosecution of the murderers. The Greek government had announced a reward of 25 million drachmas (approximately \$2,500). One of the dangers inherent in a larger reward was that it would lead to a frame-up or false conviction. Also, in connection with a reward, there is always the question of whether it shall be given to an accomplice. On General Donovan's advice, the committee withheld an offer of a reward until September 24, 1948, when it announced one of \$10,000. No one qualified for, or claimed, this reward as a result of the trial and conviction of Stakhtopoulos as an accessory. The offer was not formally renewed after his conviction but it was not immediately withdrawn. The financial underwriters of the committee's inquiry agreed to extend their pledges in sufficient amount to cover a claim for the reward in connection with the arrest and trial of the actual murderers. General Donovan advised the committee some months ago that, in his judgment, its offer of a reward could be considered expired.

One of the most difficult questions presented to the committee was to what extent it should undertake an independent investigation of the murder. It seemed evident that nothing was to be gained by sending a special journalistic board of inquiry to Greece. American correspondents in Greece were following closely developments and the Columbia Broadcasting System had sent two able correspondents to Greece to give full time to the case. An alternative was to send under cover investigators, but properly trained and reliable operatives who knew the Greek language and the tangled skeins of Greek factionalism were rare.

General Donovan, however, arranged with the United States Air Force to borrow temporarily the services of Lieutenant Colonel G. L. James Kellis. An American citizen of Greek extraction, Kellis had made a brilliant record during the war as an O.S.S. officer. He had, among other exploits, gone into Greece during the German occupation, established contact with the Greek underground leaders of ELAS, and directed important sabotage operations. General Donovan took Colonel Kellis with him on his first trip to Greece as counsel for the committee on June 10, 1948, and left him there when he returned to the United States.

Late in July 1949, without notice to General Donovan or the committee, Colonel Kellis was recalled to the United States. The Air Force wanted him for another assignment. The executive committee in Washington ascertained, however, that his recall had been suggested by an official of the American Embassy in Athens in a cable to the State Department. Colonel Kellis had been exploring certain leads pointing to the Right, or a terrorist organization of the Extreme Right, as the author of the crime. At the time, he was, to the best knowledge of this committee, the only investigator who was testing that theory of the crime. The committee and General Donovan regarded it as very important that all leads in what was then still an unsolved mystery be thoroughly explored, regardless of political embarrassment to anyone. It was primarily for the purpose of pursuing lines of investigation that the Greek authorities might neglect that General Donovan took Colonel Kellis to Greece.

The executive committee regarded this interference with Colonel Kellis' activities as a grave violation of Secretary Marshall's instructions in not apprising the committee of the communications, both by cable and orally, leading to the recall of the committee's independent investigator. The executive committee established the facts in this matter only by persistent investigation. In response to the executive committee's protests, the Air Force consented to Colonel Kellis' return to Athens if General Donovan wanted him and the State Department promised to see that it received thereafter the full cooperation of the American authorities in Greece. A decision was postponed until General Donovan would return from Greece. General Donovan had taken occasion to impress on Greek officials the

*Editor's note: Constantine Hadjigaryris of the *Christian Science Monitor*.

necessity of exploring fully the leads which pointed to the Right as well as those pointing towards the Left. He advised the committee that he was satisfied that this would be done and that, from a political viewpoint, certain key officials in the inquiry would not be displeased if the crime were found to have been committed by Rightists. As a result, plans for sending Colonel Kellis back to Greece were abandoned.

The committee and its counsel obtained iron-clad assurances from the Greek authorities that if or when a trial was held it would be a civil trial, not a court-martial, and that it would be public so that it could be fully covered by the American press and radio. After the indictment of Stakhtopoulos and his mother, it gave consideration to engaging a Greek lawyer to participate in the trial as counsel for Polk's mother or widow. This is permissible in Greek practice. General Donovan finally concluded, however, that this was unnecessary, especially since he was able to arrange to attend all sessions of the trial himself.

The indictment, brought March 14, 1949, charged the following persons with various degrees of complicity in the murder of Polk: Evangelos Vasvanas, Adam Mouzenides, Gregorios Stakhtopoulos and the latter's mother, Anna Stakhtopoulos. Stakhtopoulos and his mother were already under arrest. Warrants were issued for the arrest of Vasvanas and Mouzenides, both Communists in the guerrilla forces of General Markos, but they were never apprehended.

The trial was held in Salonika, April, 1949, before three judges and a jury of twelve. The Stakhtopouloses were represented by counsel and the procedures conformed to the requirements of Greek law and judicial practice. Gregorios Stakhtopoulos was convicted on one count of complicity in the murder and sentenced to life imprisonment. His mother was acquitted. The jury found Vasvanas and Mouzenides guilty of the actual murder. Under Greek law, such verdicts may be brought even when the accused are not present. If subsequently arrested, however, they may request and receive a new trial.

General Donovan attended all the sessions of the trial with a reliable interpreter of his own selection. He also had the advice of a Greek lawyer. He went over the transcript of the trial, as he had examined in detail the voluminous records of the investigations preceding the trial. General Donovan advised the committee that the trial was "efficiently and honestly conducted with fair and full opportunity to the defense to present its case" in a judicial atmosphere with none of the trappings or atmosphere of a cause celebre. He also advised the committee that, in his opinion, the evidence which caused the conviction of Stakhtopoulos would have led an American jury to a similar conclusion. General Donovan's judgments on all these essential points appear to have been shared by the American correspondents who covered the trial.

CONCLUSIONS

As this outline of its activities may suggest, the committee in general followed the practice of American newspapers when in any community there is a serious crime, with more than personal significance, which is not solved. It is common practice in cases of this sort to work with the authorities, to support them, to encourage those who are energetic, to put pressure on those who are slow, timid, or complacent, and to make an independent inquiry at the same time.

The committee is able to report that the official investigation was, after some hesitation and delay, pursued with vigor by the Greek authorities and officers of the law. It is able to report also that in its work it received the cooperation and support of the Secretary of State and many American officials in Washington and in Greece. It is compelled to report, however, that the work of its own independent investigator in Greece was not facilitated, that in fact was frustrated, by the Greek and American authorities. The committee knew very well that even in an American community, far more so in a foreign country, the odds are against the private solution of a mysterious crime. It has no reason to believe and does not suggest that its independent investigator would eventually have produced evidence different from that which was present at the Stakhtopoulos

trial. But it does suggest that doubts in some minds would have been more quickly, if not more firmly, resolved if the committee's investigator had received the full cooperation of the American and Greek authorities.

The committee is satisfied that Stakhtopoulos and his mother received a fair trial. Moreover, it is satisfied that Stakhtopoulos was in fact an accessory, that he was the "finger man" who led Polk into the trap where his murderers were waiting for him. (Whether Stakhtopoulos knew in advance that Polk was to be murdered is another question on which the Greek jury, in convicting him of complicity, did not pass.)

But Stakhtopoulos, though guilty of the charge on which he was convicted, was not the murderer. The committee has delayed its report and dissolution in the hope that the actual murderers might be arrested, tried, and convicted. But, though the Greek civil war has been brought to an end, Vasvanas and Mouzenides, who were tentatively found guilty by the Greek jury, have not been found and no new evidence implicating others has been brought to light. The reports received by Greek police that Vasvanas and Mouzenides were killed before the end of the Civil War may be correct, but they may have sought refuge in another land.

The committee hopes that the case will not be forgotten. For the safety of American correspondents working abroad in dangerous places can best be insured if it is known to all the world that they cannot be attacked with impunity—that the power and influence of the United States Government, that the concerted actions of the press and radio, and an aroused public opinion, will demand and will persist in demanding the pursuit and punishment of the criminals. That in itself cannot guarantee the safety of American correspondents, but it can act as a deterrent against any who might otherwise think the risks were not too great. ■

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GOOD LINKAGE

Columnists and Commissars: Equal Treatment From Carter

Will Powell protect reporters' rights?

BY AARON LATHAM

Jody Powell recently referred to the Soviet leaders and the American press in remarkably similar terms. Commissars and columnists seemed to be rolled into one. On the surface, this equation is somewhat disturbing, and yet I take some comfort from it. For so long as this "linkage" exists, Jimmy Carter must practice vis-a-vis the American media what he preaches to the Soviet Union. This is an underestimated dividend of the President's "human rights" policy. After all, Carter can hardly favor dissent for Russians but oppose it for *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, and CBS.

Late in the 1976 Presidential campaign, I began to worry that Carter was showing signs of blaming all his problems on the media. He criticized reporters for allegedly not being interested in issues and claimed they weren't treating him fairly. Was he turning into a crypto-Nixon? Ever since, I have been looking for signs one way or the other. The most hopeful sign so far, it seems to me, is Carter's advocacy of "human rights." This policy may well turn out to be a free-press insurance policy.

It was at Jody Powell's briefing on March 22 that I first began to consider this "linkage" between freedom of the press in America and Carter's foreign policy crusade. The White House

press secretary was asked to comment on a speech which General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev had made criticizing Carter's criticism of Soviet society.

"I might point out," Powell said, "that we did note with approval the General Secretary's statement that the Soviet Union had definite views on the order of things in our society, and that they reserved the right to comment on them. We do not fear open debate about the principles which guide our respective societies before the court of

world opinion."

Looking down at his notes, Powell cautioned that he had been paraphrasing Brezhnev rather than quoting him directly. "The quote he used," the press secretary said, "was that 'we have quite a different opinion about the order reigning in the world of imperialism.'" Powell smiled good-naturedly as he said, "We interpreted that to mean us." His tone seemed to dare the Russians to match wits with him.

A reporter asked Powell to elaborate upon the President's position.

"I can simply state," Powell said, "that we approve of the General Secretary's statement of their intent to continue to comment upon matters within our society . . . that we in fact welcome it . . ." (my italics)

Another reporter pressed Powell to say whether Brezhnev's speech in its entirety should be viewed as a cause for optimism or pessimism. The reporter clearly leaned toward the latter. "I suppose," Powell said, "Given our devotion to basic human rights and liberties, you have the right to make whatever interpretation you wish about the speech."

Powell's answer had a light wry touch but still he was making the all-important connection between "human rights" and "press rights"—reporters being human, after all. I like to think of this as "good linkage" as opposed to "bad linkage" which we as a country don't believe in anymore.

Ironically, the American press—which may well be one of the greatest beneficiaries of Carter's "human rights" policy—has heaped considerable criticism on that policy. At the March 22 briefing, Powell was asked how Carter was responding to this negative comment about his so-called "shot-from-the-hip" or "shoot-from-the-lip" foreign policy.

"I can characterize his reaction as being somewhat bemused," Powell said. But he added that the White House believed that some of the criticism was based on bad information. "So I think in some cases the question may arise with regard to this sort of criticism—which of course we do indeed welcome—whose shot and whose hip?" (my italics)

I had a sense of *deja entendu*. Then I realized why. Moments

Wide World



Jody Powell: one policy for Cronkite and Brezhnev.

Aaron Latham is a contributing editor of MORE. His CIA novel, Orchids for Mother, will be published soon.

The Great Health Care Stakes

Odds favor higher medical care costs if prescription drug prices are arbitrarily cut. A gamble? Yes, considering the following:

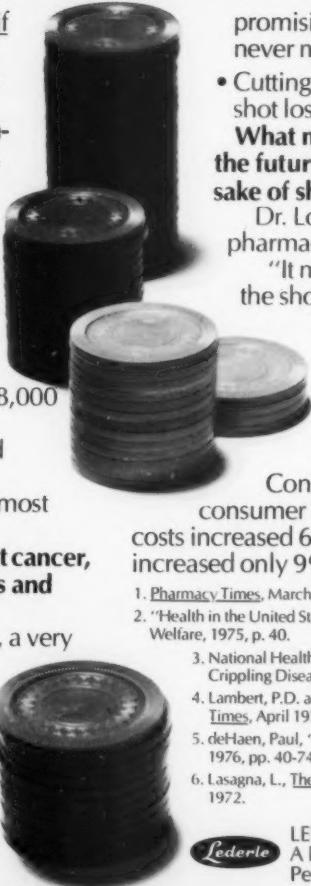
Drugs markedly reduce the costs of hospitalization, surgery, psychiatry, intensive care, and other forms of health care.

Examples:

1. Polio vaccines eliminated iron lungs, lengthy hospital stays, and saved thousands of potential victims.¹
2. Since drugs to treat mental illness were introduced, the number of patients in mental hospitals has been more than cut in half: from 558,000 in 1955 to about 225,000 in 1974.²
3. Antibiotics save millions of lives and billions of health care dollars.³
4. Drugs that cure tuberculosis closed most sanatoriums.⁴

The stakes are these: new drugs to fight cancer, viral infections, heart ailments, psychoses and other diseases. But —

- New drugs come only from research, a very sophisticated form of roulette.
- Most new drugs are discovered by U.S. research-oriented pharmaceutical companies.⁵
- Their research funds come from current prescription drug sales.
- For every drug that's a winner, there are thousands of other



promising chemical compounds that never make it to the gate.

• Cutting drug prices arbitrarily is a sure-shot loss for research investment.

What may be gambled away is much of the future progress in health care for the sake of short term savings.

Dr. Louis Lasagna, a leading clinical pharmacologist, puts it this way:

"It may be politically expedient, for the short haul, to disregard the health of the United States drug industry, but its destruction would be a gigantic tragedy."⁶

One last point: Between 1967 and 1975, according to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics Consumer Price Index, the cost of all consumer items rose 61%, and medical care costs increased 69%, while prescription drug costs increased only 9%.

1. *Pharmacy Times*, March 1976, pp 36-39.

2. "Health in the United States," U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1975, p. 40.

3. National Health Education Committee, "Facts on the Major Killing and Crippling Diseases in the United States," 1971, p. 5.

4. Lambert, P.D. and Martin, A. (National Institutes of Health), *Pharmacy Times*, April 1976, pp 50-66.

5. deFaen, Paul, "New Drugs, 1940 thru 1975," *Pharmacy Times*, March 1976, pp. 40-74.

6. Lasagna, L., *The American Journal of Medical Sciences*, 263:72 (Feb.) 1972.

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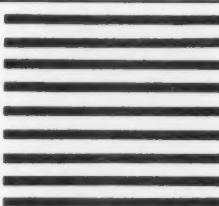
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earlier, Powell had said the White House did "in fact welcome" criticism from Brezhnev. Now he was saying this same White House did "indeed welcome" criticism from the press. If it was good for Brezhnev, it more or less had to be good enough for Cronkite, Severeid, and even Joseph Kraft.

Not that Carter has much Christian love in his heart for either the Russians or the press, but neither has he made the mistake of making devils of the one or the other. To judge from Powell's comments, the President has a "they-don't-worry-me" attitude toward both. For example, when Powell was asked if the administration was concerned about supposed Soviet overtures to Israel, he replied: "No, we are not worried about the Soviets." Which reminded me of something he had said moments earlier about press criticism, namely: "It is not a matter of grave concern to us at all." Neither the Soviets nor the press may like to hear themselves taken so lightly, but this attitude would seem to be a fairly healthy one. Unlike Richard Nixon, who so feared reporters and Russians that he made towering giants of both, Carter seems determined to view both as being even shorter than he is. (At least, that was his attitude before the Russians so rudely rejected his first SALT proposals. They may have grown a little after that.)

In some ways, the boys from Georgia seem to feel that the fourth estate is almost as foreign to them as the Communist world. And they are suspicious of both. Occasionally this distrust invades the press briefing room. As when Powell, at one point, seemed to come close to saying that the media—not unlike the Soviet Union—is not all that committed to an open society. Commenting on press reaction to Carter's beloved "human rights," the press secretary said: "It seem[s] to me that the problem might be not what he was saying but where he was saying it, and that if he had made the same statements on background to a few [journalists] who are charged with the responsibility of interpreting such matters to the American public, then

it would have been considered in an entirely different context than . . . statements . . . made directly to the American people."

"Would you care to name any names?" a reporter asked.

Powell said, "Well, if the designation fits . . ."

So Powell is not always a great fan of the press. He has even been known to go so far as to use words like "horseshit"—this in public briefings—to characterize some stories. But at the same time the President's press secretary has scrupulously avoided making any comments which could be interpreted as seeking to harm press freedom in any way whatsoever. When United Nations Ambassador Andrew Young said that he thought Congress should pass laws restricting the coverage of hostage stories, Jody Powell refused to support Young's position. Asked if the

President encouraged the media to practice self-restraint, Powell would not even go that far. Such circumspection suggests that so far, at least, Carter is willing to view the First Amendment as one of The Ten Commandments.

I suspect that the general public is not particularly interested in how Presidents get along with the press. Many undoubtedly feel that this is an intramural issue of importance only to the Cronkites and Carters of this world. But press-President relations actually have enormous ramifications throughout our national life. For example, Richard Nixon could never have done what Carter has done—that is, come out for "human rights"—because he did not believe in that human right known as freedom of the press. Perhaps it would be only slightly overstating the case to say that Nixon began by hating the press

and ended with a morally empty *real politik*. The one ultimately implied the other. Richard Nixon was the worst President in American history not because he covered up Watergate but because he did not believe in what America has always stood for. So under him America stood for nothing. Nixon erased all content from American foreign policy as if it were 18½ minutes of White House tape.

Jimmy Carter is just the reverse. He began by believing that America should stand for "human rights" and has ended up having to embrace freedom of the press. So the press, I should think, ought to be among the greatest supporters of Carter's "human rights" program. It would seem to be the human thing to do. After all, there's a lot in it for us.

Thank you, Andrei Sakharov. ■

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MADISON AVENUE CATCHES FALLEN STARS

Ad Men Lure Reluctant Virgins With Easy Money

Meet the super-agent who seduced Edward G. Robinson.

BY JONATHAN BLACK

Virgins. In the celebrity endorsement game, that's what they call the dwindling number of big-name stars who still haven't given in to the top-dollar temptations from Madison Avenue.

Brando will probably die a virgin. So may Sinatra, Nicholson, Redford, Newman, and even TV superstars like Mary Tyler Moore and Carol Burnett. Not to mention the true plums, the pristine, unsullied stars of the '40s and '50s like Richard Widmark and Jimmy Stewart.

But with each passing day the band of holdouts shrinks.

The ex-wives begin to mount up and alimony can't be avoided. Or a star like Candy Bergen can't find just the right film part and needs walking-around money. Or the older stars begin to brood, "Out of sight, out of mind." Often it is easy to sniff the first tell-tale compromise. Robert Mitchum agrees to a public-service pitch for the Job Corps; for a million bucks Steve McQueen agrees to pitch for Suzuki — but only in Japan. And, occasionally, a staggering news bulletin shakes the industry: John Wayne, the Duke, sells out to Dariel for a mere \$400,000.

Superstar endorsement is big business and at its center reigns one particular talent agent with a reputation for seducing and de-flowering some of the toughest, most stubborn virgins. He's Lloyd Kolmer, head of Lloyd Kolmer Enterprises, a young-looking 46-year-old with manicured brown hair who wears just enough gold jewelry to project and protect his hip image.

To Lloyd, virginity means credibility, and he turns quite resentful when others fail to properly appreciate the special status accorded the chaste. For instance, ad agencies approach Lloyd all the time for the services of Mary Tyler Moore. "Inquiries," mutters Lloyd, "nothing but inquiries. And usually prefaced with



Agents Lloyd Kolmer (left) and Marty Ingels: In their business, virgins bring a higher price.



'We don't have a hell of a lot of money,' I say, 'Fine — let's go to Florence Henderson.'"

Likewise with Doris Day. "Hey," said Lloyd to an ad agency heavy, "I'm not going to Doris Day with half a million. The lady's a virgin."

Lloyd's reverence for virginity is mixed with patience and practicality. He wasn't particularly discouraged when Carol Burnett rejected his one-million-dollar deal for Jello because Carol understands that timing is everything. "Maybe later," she told Lloyd. "When I need it." Sooner or later they all need it. Lloyd remembers fondly his epic defloration of Edward G. Robinson.

According to legend, Robinson found himself shaving with a marvelous new razor blade one day and was so delighted with the result that he immediately called his agent and offered to pitch for the sword. Lloyd has a slightly different version. Wilkinson was hunting for a big-name endorser and naturally approached Lloyd. At first Robinson was reluctant. "But I told him," says Lloyd, "I told him, 'Mr. Robinson, with all due respect ... it wouldn't hurt for you to be in the living room of the American home. You're fit, you look great, the money's good. And besides — everyone's doing it.'"

The Middleman

It's hard to understand exactly why the big companies and their ad agencies bother with a middleman like Lloyd in the first place. Actually, the reasons are simple. Madison Avenue can be amazingly inept and ignorant when hunting for celeb endorsers. Lloyd tracks them down quickly and efficiently. Then, too, if Madison Avenue goes through the star's agent, they risk being quoted highly inflated prices — the agent, after all, is relying on his ten per cent cut, and the higher the price, the higher the fee. Lloyd, on the other hand, takes a flat \$1,000 from the ad agen-

Jonathan Black is a freelance writer living in New York.

cies—if and when he signs up the talent.

But Lloyd's absolute indispensability derives from another, more important monetary reason—his uncanny ability to understand what the market will bear. Most negotiations require an arbitrator with an overview of the industry, a person who is respected by both sides to judge the demands of each fairly. If Kolmer or someone like him did not exist, a star's agent would be quoting astronomical fees for a celeb without even talking to him, and often the deal would be killed right there.

That's what happened when Xerox first went after Marcel Marceau. "Okay," said the mime's agent, "a hundred grand, take it or leave it." Xerox left it, but then turned to Kolmer. Lloyd ignored the agent and went directly to Marceau, who was then holed up at New York's Park Lane Hotel. "He told me he wanted to do a special—not a commercial," says Kolmer. "I told him, 'Mr. Marceau, I have a commercial here that will win you a Cleo.'" Here was something Marceau could understand. He took the gig—for \$25,000—and the commercial won a Cleo.

Many actors, it seems, would themselves gladly work for \$25,000, but the deal gets killed because the star's agent is holding out for a higher price. Not too long ago, Marty Ingels, Lloyd Kolmer's Los Angeles counterpart, had persuaded Howard Cosell to plug Canada Dry's "Not Too Sweet" campaign for \$25,000. But The Mouth's William Morris agent nixed the deal when he learned of it and demanded 100 G's or nothing. It took all of Marty's persuasive powers to turn Cosell against his agent's advice. "Now," says Marty, "the guys at William Morris would like to wire my car."

"The big agencies keep the stars from working," charges Lloyd. "They want that fat commission."

Norman Reich, the man who used to be Lloyd's secretary when Kolmer was at William

Morris (Lloyd had gone from the mailroom to W.M.'s TV commercial department in record time), now heads the Commercial Products Department at International Creative Management. Reich smiles at Lloyd's charge: "Lloyd and I are old friends. I'd say the same thing if I were in his shoes." Nor does Reich seem terribly threatened by Lloyd's mammoth Rolodex, the one with the unlisted numbers of half the celebs in Hollywood. Business looks brisk

turers Hanover Trust died in the midst of highly successful campaigns. The company that employed the services of Mary Bacon, the first female jockey, had to junk the campaign when the press discovered that Mary had been attending Ku Klux Klan meetings. Banking on "rising" stars can be particularly risky: the collapse of Mark Spitz (and his Schick endorsements) is probably the major reason agencies have been wary of signing Bruce Jenner.

Still, the major risk in using

Wide World



Wide World



Wide World



Three virgins: Brando, Stewart and MTM

at ICM, at least as evidenced by the hour I spent in Reich's office listening to him on the phone:

"Right. You want Europeans. Class. Big money. We'll go down the list. Maybe Montand. I've heard he's looking."

"A bra and a girdle? Five spots and a few hundred thousand? Meredith MacRae already did Playtex. She's pregnant again? Okay. I'll get back."

"Right. We have Laver. The man's a champ. Excellent player. Super to work with. He'll confirm at fifteen."

To his secretary: "Get Vincent Price at the Drake. And have Miss Gabor sign the contracts."

The Dangers Of Celebrity

Using a celeb is not a risk-free venture. When inappropriately used, the star can eclipse the product. Worse still, the hand of God has been known to intervene. Both Bert Lahr for Lay's Potato Chips and Rod Serling for Manufac-

celes to push products remains the high cost of high-caliber talent. It used to be that celebs pitched for peanuts. Today, the difference between central casting and a top-dollar star can run in six figures. Obviously, the agency often figures it's worth it. When Richard Manoff, Inc. settled on its "disgruntled SOB customer" concept for National Car Rental it had two routes: build its own character, or buy an expensive face. Explains Dick Manoff: "We could have paid an average actor scale but then we would have had to run ten spots a week to create the awareness we wanted. Or we could pay Don Rickles a bundle and get the same result with three spots. It was a basic business decision."

The money in celebrity endorsements varies considerably. It took a mere \$5,000 to acquire the services of celebs like Don Adams, Steve Allen, and Julie Newmar for a local Korvette's campaign which only required a single day's work. For Hertz, O.J. Simpson receives, according to *The New*

York Times, between \$100,000 and \$250,000. (Most agencies and celebs are reluctant to disclose the exact fees.) Laurence Olivier took home \$250,000 for two spots for Polaroid. Robert Blake got a rumored \$400,000 for STP, Gregory Peck a cool million for Travelers Insurance.

Occasionally, the inflated fees for celebrities cause a problem—as happened with Peter Sellers' notorious flop for TWA. There was Sellers waltzing up and down a 747's aisle in exotic continental guises touting European opulence just when recession-conscious Americans were being urged to tighten their seat belts and fly "No Frills" to Florida. TWA couldn't easily jettison Sellers—he had cost the airline a jackpot sum in seven figures. So they stripped off his Gucci loafers and silk scarf and dressed him in a common business suit. But nobody wanted to see Peter Sellers in Barney's attire and it wasn't long before *Advertising Age* reported the campaign was "scrapped in favor of a local print effort that stresses schedule and destination information."

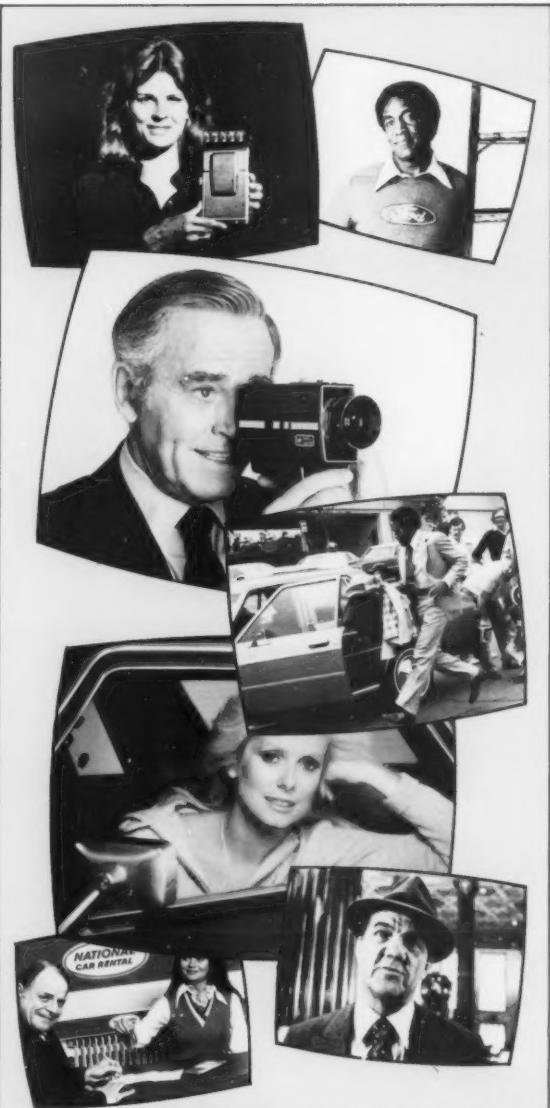
Then there are the internal industry benefits that accrue from celebrity charisma. When Hamilton Beach bought Joe Namath to sell the Butter-Up Popper Upper they knew the Jet quarterback would turn on not only the consumer but also the employees of Hamilton Beach. "The personality's great for the distributors," says Marvin Skoog at Hicks & Greist, the agency handling Hamilton Beach. "The sales force says, 'Hey, we got Joe Namath.' They get excited, then they get the retailers excited. It's all very beneficial." Not surprisingly then, the companies try to cram as many "personal appearance" clauses into the contracts as possible. "You should have seen this year's Chicago Housewares Show," says Skoog. "Everyone from Shirley Jones in the Sunbeam booth to Alex Karras with a Pioneer chain saw. It was like Celebrity Sweepstakes."

The Hook

When it works, the celeb strategy pays off in spades. Karl Malden (crowned *Ad Age's* "Presenter of the Year") has proved a bonanza for American Express. So has O.J. Simpson, crashing through airport crowds in a mad rush for his Hertz. The success of such campaigns is invariably attributed to the inspired "hook" or logical "connect" between the celeb and the product. The Juice personified the speed and reliability Hertz hoped to impress on its customers, and Malden's earnest tough-guy cop was the ideal choice to intimidate hapless, victimized tourists who'd foolishly left home without their traveler's checks. Citing the purity of the American Express "hook," John Emmerling (of John Emmerling, Inc.) points out that Malden the Presenter wears the very same hat he wears on "The Streets of San Francisco."

Emmerling is Madison Avenue's hook fanatic. Lack of hook, warns Emmerling, orphans the product from the celeb and promotes the celeb's next stint on Johnny Carson. Borrowed interest can only sully the integrity of Madison Avenue, so virtue, says Emmerling, now predominates and he cites (from a speech delivered to the St. Louis Advertising Club) a long and laudable list in which neither the celeb nor the agency can stand accused of prostitution. Among them: Robert Morley for British Airways. The hook? "Morley's consummate Englishness." John Houseman for Volvo. The hook? "An intellectual represents an intelligent car." Anna Maria Alberghetti for Good Seasons. The hook? "Italian name, Italian accent, Italian salad dressing."

Alas, the hook becomes untenable with the appearance of such promiscuous pitchmen as Namath and Cosby. Too many hooks and one begins to smell a hooker. Namath, for instance, has pitched for products as varied as Brut, Dingo Boots, Lazy Boy, Pantyhose, the Popper



Seven who've been bought: Bergen for Polaroid; Cosby for Ford; Fonda for GAF; Simpson for Hertz; Deneuve for Lincoln-Mercury; Rickles for National Car Rental; Malden for American Express.

Upper, Little Mac (and now Double Mac). Predictably, the individual agency will righteously defend its virtuous choice of a celeb for its own particular product. While Skoog scorns another agency's use of Namath for Pantyhose as "mere attention getting," he eagerly describes the compelling circumstance that led to his pitch

for the Popper Upper. Seems the very morning Hicks & Greist were ready to shoot a conventional storyboard some alert fellow spotted a squib in the *Times*: Namath was lying in the hospital, broken leg in a cast, clamoring for his popcorn. The Popper Upper was rushed to his bedside, plugged in, and from that moment on, says

Skoog, "It was music."

Cosby, recently, has proved even more wanton than Namath. In his first pitch for Del Monte (as a shy virgin, he permitted only a voice-over) there was ample justification: "rapport with children." With White Owl, Emmerling could still explain: "The hook? Cosby's a cigar lover in real life." (Just as Emmerling struggled to justify Namath for Dingo: "His publicized lifestyle hooks into this product perfectly.") But by the time the Cos did Jello, the "works well with children" line had grown a bit strained. And now that he's pitched for Pan Am, and most recently signed a major contract with Ford, he threatens to replace Arthur Godfrey as the "whore" of endorsers.

Cosby, perhaps sensing such incipient slander, recently spoke up in his own defense. "I just love to sell," he told *Ad Age*. "I want those 30 and 60 second sales pitches to be so entertaining that the viewer thinks the regular programming, not the commercial, represents the bothersome interlude." Naturally, Cosby, as both man and "entertainer," is not quite so vulnerable to the charge of "whore" as is a serious female actress. And none is more vulnerable than Catherine Deneuve.

In her first Chanel commercials, Deneuve was haughty, classy, reserved, a bit condescending — as befitting her virgin status. But once she lost that prized virginity and endorsed a second product, Mercury Cougar, the great French glamour queen behaved like a common harlot. Draped over the Cougar's hood, boasting décolletage, ending the spots with a lewd "grrrrr," she might as well have been one of those slatternly girls in bikinis who parade around showroom Pontiacs.

The result of such promiscuity can be seen in the Chanel spots themselves. Where once Deneuve merely had to pose, silent, cool and arrogant, now, with her morality in question, she must start from scratch, re-

WHAT BECOMES A LEGEND MOST?

When it comes to celebrity endorsers, everyone is shocked in his own way, everyone recoils at a different transgression. For some, the upper limits of tolerance were reached when John Wayne succumbed to Datri or Laurence Olivier pulled the shutter for Polaroid. For me—and I think for any writer — my stomach sank when Lillian Hellman appeared in a Blackglama mink.

Why'd she do it? "For a lark," says Peter Rogers, the director of the ad campaign and of Peter Rogers Associates. The idea for the ad was suggested to Hellman over lunch with Claudette Colbert—another legend—and right after lunch, Peter Rogers zipped over and took Hellman to the studio. Three packs of cigarettes later she was an international cover girl and the owner of a custom-designed, natural dark, ranch-mink coat.

Nine years ago, says Jane Trahey who started the ad campaign, "Nobody but hookers and Hassadah ladies" wore dark fur. Trahey wanted to do something to make the image of mink glamorous again. At the time, Jacqueline Kennedy was the only image maker who still sported dark mink. That was the image Trahey wanted, but she couldn't get Jackie and she couldn't pay a cent.

She contacted an agent friend whose clients included Barbra Streisand, Lauren Bacall, and Melina Mercouri. They did the ad, the legend was launched, and sales soared — even though Blackglama is virtually the only mink-breeding coat company left and its prices have risen while other companies have been forced to lower theirs.

Needed and "intimidated" on CBS's *Who's Who* show about her essay into advertising, Hellman finally said they'd just "caught her on a bad afternoon." But Jane Trahey doesn't see it that way.

"People in advertising are liberals. We care about blacks, we care about Jews, we work free for political campaigns."

establish her credibility and credentials, remind the viewer that she's mysterious, secretive, discourse briefly on women and intimacy (almost defensively; Deneuve has been intimate twice — once too often), and then actually name the product, lest the viewer mistake her seductive purr for that of a cougar: "There is only vun vord for this experience. Vee women know vot it is ... Chanel." Chanel was so peeved at Deneuve's adultery with Cougar that they tested twelve European actresses to replace her.

The Right Hook

When their clout and bankbook allow, most celebs are a little finicky about the products they choose to endorse. Elegant, class items naturally top the list for pres-

tige. Even Lillian Hellman will pose in Blackglama mink, and Lloyd Kolmer has already plotted the further defloration of Streisand: "I give her a Rolls, a Chanel — give her a *glamour* product. Go for her ego. Sooner or later she'll bite."

Looking to further conquests, Lloyd wouldn't mind getting his hands on ex-President Ford, who recently signed with William Morris. Walter Cronkite, when he's available, would be just as valuable: "He knows as much as any President," says Lloyd. Bess Myerson, too, would provide tremendous credibility. Ditto former Secretary of the Treasury William Simon: "Can you picture him endorsing a bank? It would be like the first man to walk on the moon endorsing an airline." And Lloyd has a special dream. More than

a dream. It could happen any day. Jackie.

"But how would you go about getting Jackie?" I ask incredulously. "What product would she possibly endorse?"

"No product," says Lloyd. "You don't want to put her in the kitchen. Or bathroom. No home furnishings. Not even a car or a fragrance. That would be prostituting herself — something her sister might do. No, you'd have to think in terms of a corporate, institutional endorsement for Jackie. A big umbrella structure. An IBM or a Xerox or Rockwell. Make her the corporate spokesperson. Let her pitch for the country, talk about natural resources, the environment, ecology. Maybe you wouldn't even mention a product. Just have 'Xerox' flash across at the end."

"And your next question,"

anticipates Lloyd, "is 'how much?' Alright. First, I wouldn't go near her without a firm offer. She'd have to have total approval of copy, photos, etcetera. And the company's got to be willing to go into the vault. Nothing less than a three-year deal for five million. With a seat on the board of directors."

"And how would you go about selling her the idea?"

"Approach her with the dignity commensurate with her stature. This isn't a \$100,000 deal you knock off in ten minutes. I'd go through her private secretary, request a meeting. Take her to a restaurant with the company president. Then I'd talk to her. Communicate. I'm the best salesman in the business," says Lloyd. "I'd approach her like a lady on a date."



"A bad afternoon": Lillian Hellman's pitch for Blackglama left her open to this dig from William Buckley's National Review.

she says. "I think it's unfair that we should be stuck with this huckster image. Marketing strategies keep people at work."

Apparently Lillian Hellman agrees — and her contribution has been yet another shot in the arm for business. "We're going in a whole new direction," says Peter Rogers. We can look forward to seeing Muhammad Ali in boxer shorts with a fur slung casually over his shoulder next fall. Honest.

— ANNA SHAPIRO

**Richard Hunsley
never realized that
Teamsters are
women ...**



in school administration, from grade school to high school through college.



TEAMSTERS are women . . . like Judy Hill, an over-the-road driver in Teamster Local 538 . . . she solo's a 10-speed GMC Astro 290 tractor (P.S., she's 5'4" and weighs 125 lbs. and her trailer weighs 15 tons).

TEAMSTERS are women . . . nurses, nurses aides, dental and optical lab technicians throughout the country.



TEAMSTERS are women . . . in the airline industry. Stewardesses for non-commercial and some commercial carriers, reservation clerks, ticket counter help and office personnel.

TEAMSTERS are women . . . in the food and clothing trade as grocery clerks and checkers.



TEAMSTERS are women . . . in the clerical industry which consists of PBX operators, computer operators and even installers across the nation. Chances are . . . one of your neighbors is a Teamster, maybe a Teamster woman!

TEAMSTERS
A part of the American Life



LIBEL

REPORTERS SUED
AND ABANDONEDChinatown Probe Sparks
30 M Libel Suit

S.F. Examiner not providing legal aid.

BY MARLENE
ADLER MARKS

For more than two years, the staff at the *San Francisco Examiner* had been close to euphoria. The paper had been redesigned and looked almost serious. Reg Murphy, well-respected chief of the *Atlanta Constitution*, became the new *Examiner* editor, arriving in time to beef up the paper's coverage of the Presidential election. New reporters from big-league papers were recruited and told by publisher Randolph Hearst that he, personally, was committed to turning the paper around.

Then, last November, the *Examiner* and two young reporters, Lowell Bergman and Raul Ramirez, were hit with three related libel suits, seeking \$30 million in damages. At that point, everything started to change. Though the paper never retracted the three-part investigative series into a Chinatown murder case which led to the libel suits, management support of the two reporters has not been as fervent as some would like.

Since November, the situation has deteriorated. Bergman and Ramirez must raise \$20,000 to pay for their own counsel. A defense committee of both *Examiner* staff and members of the San Francisco media has been formed. And the atmosphere at the newspaper itself has turned some-

what hostile as veteran reporters question—some for the first time—whether a newspaper's management can ever have a reporter's best interests at heart.

The deterioration is ironic considering that everyone—Murphy, Hearst, the company's lawyers—still publicly backs the series "1000 per cent," as George McGovern would say. And they are consistently optimistic that the cases will be thrown out of court before trial.

"It was a good story and it should have been in print," says a source close to the Hearst Corporation. "It (the story) is exactly what a newspaper should do. I have no problems with it at all."

The Chinatown series, "How Lies Sent Youth to Prison for Murder," was exactly the kind of story which lured Raul Ramirez away from the *Washington Post* and which similarly inspired Lowell Bergman to think he might give up his itinerant ways for a full-time job at the *Examiner*. Ramirez, a 30-year-old Cuban emigre with a passion for stories about Third World communities, was encouraged that the paper would let him do in-depth coverage of previously ignored social issues like minority crime problems.

The paper sent him to Mexico for a first-hand look at prisons and to Guatemala to cover the earthquake. He served as a deputy in the county jail for six weeks for a series of articles. Ramirez seemed happy.

As for Bergman, a soft-

spoken, disarmingly unassuming, 31-year-old intellectual, he had lofty goals indeed. Having convinced himself he could live on very little money, he went from city to city, project to project, raising money for a monumental study of organized crime in California to be done with colleague Jeff Gerth. The first part of that story appeared in 1975 in *Penthouse* magazine, alleging that the Mafia had infiltrated the posh LaCosta spa in southern California.

That story resulted in a \$630 million libel suit—Bergman's first and the largest libel suit ever filed—which is still in the courts. His crime study project was stopped, but he continued to write, mostly for *Rolling Stone*. For Bergman, the *Examiner* was a major hope.

The joke in the *Examiner* pressroom was of the "Cuban and the Jew who were taking on Chinatown." Bergman and Ramirez worked on the 1972 Poole Leong murder story separately for over a year over-researching, as they both were in the habit of doing. Finally, in the three-part series that appeared in May 1976, the reporters revealed signed affidavits from key witnesses, swearing they had been pressured by the prosecution into offering perjured testimony which pinned the murder on Robert W. Lee, a 19-year-old bank teller. Lee had been named by police as part of a Chinatown youth gang.

Significantly, one witness, Thomas Porter Jr., a federal penitentiary inmate with a long record, said his testimony at the five-day trial had been fabricated by the prosecutor. Porter admitted that he falsely testified he heard Lee confess to the crime, but did so only after threats and actual physical assaults by police officers.

The *Examiner* stories not only named the three law enforcement officials said to have procured the perjured testimony, they also accused California's Attorney General, Evelle Younger, of creating, through his public pronouncements regarding Chinese gangs,

the atmosphere which would lead to a hanging jury.

The *Examiner* seemed pleased with the series, and even ran an editorial urging that the case against Robert Lee be reopened. The stories won the Hearst chain's enterprise award for that month. In all, the Chinatown series was regarded by the pressroom staff as further proof that Randolph Hearst was making good on his pledge. The paper was turning around.

Trouble began in July, however, when the key witness, Porter, recanted again. At the very moment the Lee case was to be reopened, Porter signed still another affidavit saying he had lied to the *Examiner*. In August, Ramirez wrote that the change of heart occurred three days after Porter was visited in jail by San Francisco Police investigators.

The Lee case remained closed. Using Porter's recantation as evidence, the assistant district attorney and two homicide inspectors named in the series filed their libel actions in November, charging that Bergman and Ramirez knew Porter's statements were false before the story was printed.

Though the *Examiner* refused to retract, the paper's response to the reporters since the libel action has been unusual. In planning its defense strategy, the *Examiner* came across some sticky issues. Lowell Bergman had never officially been hired by the paper, had not been paid a penny by it, and had not received traditional by-line credit for his work. At the end of the first part of the series, a note in italics stated, "The *Examiner* inquiry into the Robert Lee case was made with the collaboration of Lowell Bergman, a freelance investigative reporter aided by a grant from the Fund for Investigative Journalism of Washington, D.C." In parts two and three, Ramirez alone had by-line credit.

The use of freelancers was an old problem with the *Examiner's* Newspaper Guild chapter, though generally in regard to non-investigative feature arti-

Marlene Adler Marks is a free-lance writer living in Los Angeles.

WHY SMITH-CORONA IS AMERICA'S BEST SELLING PORTABLE.

There are 15 brands of portable typewriters on the market.

But this year, like the last 10 years, more people will buy a Smith-Corona than any other brand.

Here are just five among many important reasons why:



THE TYPEWRITER WITH A HOLE

When we designed our cartridge, we re-designed our typewriters.

In place of spool cups, posts, reversing levers, ribbon guides and messy ribbons, there's a hole.

The hole is for our cartridges.

Next to the hole is a lever. Depress the lever and the cartridge pops out.

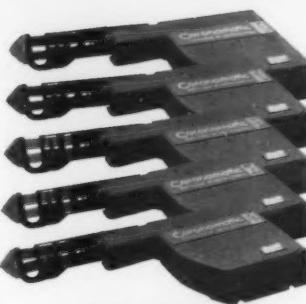
In three seconds, just by inserting a new cartridge, you can change a ribbon without getting your fingers dirty.

**mistakr
mistak
mistake**

CORRECTS MISTAKES IN 10 SECONDS

The hole also accommodates a correcting cartridge.

So when you make a mistake, you can snap out the typing cartridge, snap in the correcting cartridge, type over the mistake, snap the typing cartridge back in and type the correct character—all in ten seconds or less.



FIVE COLORS

Cartridges come in black, red, blue, green, and brown.

If you're typing along in black, but you want to type a line in red for emphasis, snap out the black cartridge and snap in the red cartridge. In just three seconds you can see red!

NYLON FILM

EXECUTIVE LOOKING CORRESPONDENCE

The Smith-Corona electric portable with a film ribbon will give you the sharpest typing image of any portable.

When you want to type a letter that looks like an executive's, snap in the black film cartridge

and type with real authority.

The black nylon is not quite so authoritative but is more economical. One cartridge lets you type about 325,000 characters.



FOUR YEARS OF COLLEGE AND BEYOND

We could make some remarkable statements about how we test out typewriters. But that's not necessary.

Most typewriter retailers have typewriters on display. Type a few sentences on a Smith-Corona. Snap a cartridge in and out. Smith-Corona looks and feels sturdy because it is sturdy.

So, for your high school graduate, we suggest you follow this simple formula:

Buy a doctor a Smith-Corona when he or she graduates from high school.

Buy a lawyer a Smith-Corona when he or she graduates from high school.

Buy a successful businessperson a Smith-Corona when he or she graduates from high school.



SCM **SMITH-CORONA**
SCM CORPORATION

Katy Raddatz

cles. How should the *Examiner* treat Lowell Bergman for the purposes of this case? As an agent? As a full-time reporter entitled to a defense? Was he merely a source of the story, and Ramirez alone the reporter? In short, how would the Guild — stronger in San Francisco than almost anywhere else in the country — react to an "outsider" being brought in and afforded the paper's protection?

In late March, the Guild made its position clear: they came down strongly against including freelancer Bergman in the *Examiner*'s case.

Bergman meanwhile received conflicting signals from the newspaper. Yes, the paper would defend him, he was told one week. No, it would not, the next. In the meantime, he was being served with legal papers informing him that Porter and other witnesses were being formally questioned. He was getting frantic. Finally, the day before Porter's deposition, he retained an attorney he knew for one day's appearance. Bergman was relieved, but on the basis of that one day's appearance by a private attorney, the *Examiner* insisted that Bergman had severed himself from the case.

"Lowell Bergman was an unpaid contractor — a freelance," says someone close to the Hearst defense team. "We had originally offered to represent him, but he told us flat out he had his own attorney. Well, we're off it from then on in."

The Hearst officials now assert they cannot even offer Bergman legal assistance because this would be interfering with his right to the attorney of his choice. But are they willing, in that case, to reimburse him for his expenses? The answer, from a source who refused to be identified: "No."

The *Examiner* management insists that since the case is in litigation, it is unwilling to talk for publication about any aspect of it, even the question of who will pay for attorney fees. As for Bergman, already swimming in a two-year deluge of paper work from the *Penthouse*



Reporters out in the cold: Lowell Bergman (left) and Raul Ramirez face \$30 million libel suit for Chinatown exposé.

libel suit (*Penthouse* fully paid for all lawyers), the news that he was on his own left him barely treading water.

"February was an emotional washout," says Bergman, who supports two young children. "I couldn't write a word. As a reporter I started to wonder if I wanted to do it any more."

The dropping of Bergman's case seemed an act of treason to many on the *Examiner*'s staff. Explanations about Guild regulations and about his being paid by the Fund for Investigative Journalism, not the *Examiner*, were seen as transparent ruses. Some reporters quietly accused the paper of plotting to lay the entire libel action at Bergman's feet, a plot which the *Examiner* management vehemently denies.

Both Bergman and Ramirez, as well as many of the staff, were already somewhat skeptical about the corporation's legal counsel. Ted Kleines, the *Examiner*'s chief attorney, had recently defended the paper against a libel suit brought by Synanon, a drug-treatment center, but conducted it in such a way that Kleines was named a defendant by Synanon in a

separate civil suit. Even worse, the Hearsts ultimately agreed to settle the libel suit for \$600,000, surely an alarming precedent as far as Bergman and Ramirez are concerned.

"A settlement carries the implication of guilt," says Larry Kramer, an *Examiner* business reporter and defense committee leader. "In essence all a reporter has is his reputation. It's not as severe for a newspaper, it's an institution, and it goes on."

It was the determination to avoid settlement, in addition to the treatment of Bergman, that led Ramirez to request private counsel for himself. He is insistent that he and Bergman must present a united defense, and wishes the paper would join them. The two reporters have retained Sheldon Otis, a noted criminal defense attorney who successfully represented Steven Soliah, a figure in the Patty Hearst case.

"It surely hasn't escaped the Hearsts," says Bergman, "that here is Randolph Hearst again up against Otis. I'm sure he doesn't like us any the better for it."

Ramirez is adamant that the

Examiner owes him a defense by an attorney of his choice. He has spent every free moment in the past months attempting to raise money, a fact, he says, which has brought his productivity down "to about ten per cent, and it's slipping."

"You see," he says, "when I do a story, I put my whole self into it. If I do a story about the Mission district, I live in the Mission district. But now ..." He is quiet a long moment. "If libel laws are intended to paralyze reporters, well then what the *Examiner* has done in response to this libel suit is to make a reality of that goal. This is all so crazy and senseless," he says, his dark eyes darting furiously. "There's no reason why we are fighting each other. But their dropping Lowell Bergman is not in my best interest."

Why won't the *Examiner* pay for Sheldon Otis, or another attorney of Ramirez's choice? "There's an open, outstanding offer to represent Raul at the company's expense," says a source at the *Examiner* defense team. "But he's up on his high horse and he insists on his own attorney. Raul has an absolute right to his own attorney, but no

An Open Letter from Larry Flynt,
Publisher of HUSTLER and CHIC Magazines

Dear President Carter:

Nearly seven years ago, the President's Commission on Obscenity and Pornography, after a lengthy and trying investigation, recommended that laws "prohibiting the sale, exhibition or distribution of sexual materials to consenting adults" be abolished. The commission also recommended the development of more factual information and a continued open discussion of the subjects it studied. To date, however, the federal government has utterly ignored the findings and recommendations of this remarkable study.

It is time for you, Mr. President, to establish a new bipartisan commission consisting of qualified social experts to review and update the findings of the previous one and to investigate new information concerning this important social topic.

I realize you are currently making efforts to cut back on government expenditures, therefore I offer to finance the entire expense of the study. It has been an American tradition for private enterprise to work with and assist the government in matters that affect the citizens of our nation. I am offering my cooperation, even though the study could cost millions of dollars.

I want no part in appointing the commission, nor do I expect my financial support to have any influence on their methods of procedure or ultimate conclusion.

The original commission's work was produced by the largest task force of social scientists ever assembled. The panel's report on the influence of pornography on human behavior was intelligent and logical. Yet in the face of compelling evidence—that exposure to pornography is harmless—the conclusions were rejected by Richard Nixon because he found them to be politically unpopular.

The report demonstrated that exposure to even the most hard-core pornography does not cause an increase in sexual crime or alter the direction of our sexual desires.

The commission pointed out that sexual openness is healthy and that adults should have the right to read and see what they please. These rights are still being ignored.

The commission charged that sex education needs improvement and that denying sexual information to young people is harmful. Yet sex education in America is still woefully inadequate.

The commission charged that the Supreme Court had not adequately defined obscenity and recommended that legislation restricting the sale of sexual material be repealed. However, there is still no definition of obscenity, and these repressive laws are still in effect.

It was ridiculous to have ignored these findings. This outstanding research project was suppressed, and this not only insults taxpayers—whose dollars supported the commission—but it seriously erodes our basic freedoms.

I am especially concerned with the threat to the First Amendment in the form of censorship of erotic material. Denying First Amendment rights to sexual publications could ultimately lead to the denial of these rights to other magazines and newspapers. Thus the new commission's investigation into this area would be invaluable to the media.

The commission could also take on the challenging job of surveying the true feelings that Americans have concerning obscenity. Besides classifying groups by age, sex and education, the commission could poll Protestants, Catholics and Jews alike for their opinions. And we could find out how many people have changed their attitudes about the concept of obscenity since the original commission's findings.

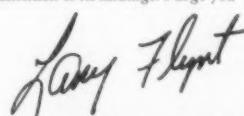
Personally I do not believe pornography is harmful, and I am prepared to stake my livelihood on this belief. If the findings of the new commission show evidence to the contrary, I will stop publishing both HUSTLER and CHIC magazines, which have a combined readership of more than 15,000,000 people monthly. If I am responsible for seriously impairing the minds of 15,000,000 Americans, I am willing to put a stop to it. But if pornography is found to be harmless, the repressive obscenity laws now in force should be removed from the books. As my president, I am confident that you will appoint a commission whose membership will not be biased but representative of the views of all Americans.

The absurd law that was used to convict me in Cincinnati could even be used against you. You could have been indicted and possibly convicted for conspiring to promote pornography by submitting to the *Playboy* interview. Hypothetical example? Hardly! There are communities in this country where *Playboy* could be found obscene, possibly Cincinnati, because it is a city where Richard Nixon could be reelected president.

Recently some of my colleagues have been criticized for comparing me to the Russian dissidents whose human rights you have so staunchly defended. While the comparisons may lack contrast in some ways, Mr. President, let us not forget that 80 percent of all literature suppressed in the Soviet Union is done so under obscenity statutes.

Sex is the only form of expression that is not protected by the Constitution, yet we communicate more through sex than any other form of expression—it is not going to go away merely because we hide it. Society must not continue to repress sex because of guilt. America is the strongest country in the world because we are free, and let us not be afraid to continue to be free.

My recent obscenity-related conviction and subsequent 7-to-25-year prison sentence have raised many serious questions that can no longer be put aside. You can show your interest by directing the establishment of this new commission—and most of all by paying attention to its findings. I urge you to act on this matter as soon as possible.



Editor and Publisher
HUSTLER & CHIC magazines
40 West Gay Street
Columbus, Ohio 43215

constitutional right to have the attorney's fees repaid by the corporation."

The *Examiner* only provides separate counsel where a reporter must exercise the confidentiality privilege, or otherwise demonstrates he and the paper have a conflict of interests. "In this case, there's no conflict, in fact the interests of the company and of Ramirez are exactly on the parallel," the source says.

All of this has little to do with the ultimate outcome of the libel case itself. By far, the majority of all such suits end at the summary judgement stage — after all evidence has been gathered. Reporters' attorneys generally have little difficulty convincing a court the evidence is too frivolous for a trial. In fact, most libel suits are so cut-and-dried — though energy consuming and annoying — that few reporters bother to worry about the caliber of their counsel. Settlement is rare — though apparently a growing phenomenon. And some cases do go to trial.

In the Bergman-Ramirez case, there may be some cause for alarm. Their accusers have retained as counsel Charles O. Morgan, Jr., a high-powered lawyer who is something of an expert in defamation suits.

"When people in San Francisco need a defamation lawyer, they come to me," says Morgan. He has won libel actions twice against Herb Caen, the *San Francisco Chronicle* columnist, and once against *TV Guide*.

In an attempt to prove recklessness on the part of a reporter, anything is fair game. In Bergman's *Penthouse* suit, for example, the originals of 300 interviews, 35 books on organized crime, and all eight drafts of the story are in court custody. Why did he change a paragraph from one version to the next, he is repeatedly asked. Is it because he had doubts about the story?

"The libel laws must be analyzed — maybe one day I'll do it myself," says Bergman. "How easy it is to file a law suit. This 'reckless and willful disregard' standard has nothing to

do with life as I see it." He gets absolutely livid talking about the "chilling effect" these suits have had on his work. If a sworn affidavit from a witness is not *per se* a sign of lack of malice, then the libel laws themselves are nothing but a nuisance and a deliberate block to investigative reporting, he says. And unfortunately, in the white-collar crimes he is most interested in reporting, those he names are powerful people, with the wherewithal to hire attorneys and keep Bergman tied up in court for years.

"I've been advised by some friends to hold up my hands and say, 'okay you guys, you win.' And give up reporting. A lot of people have told me to default in the case. I don't have \$5 million, \$10 million, or \$30 million. I just have a 1966 VW I built myself, and a rundown

house in Berkeley."

But the next moment, Bergman has forgotten about quitting reporting, and is describing the thrill of his latest investigative efforts.

For the members of the Bergman-Ramirez defense committee, the case poses the question of the newspaper's respect for a reporter's work. Many of them have been freelancers, and would dread being left on their own to face a libel suit. Although Bergman was paid by the Fund for Investigative Journalism, the committee points out, the funding was contingent upon publication in the *Examiner*. By guaranteeing publication, they feel, the paper also guaranteed it would stand by the story — and Bergman — to whatever extent necessary.

"The *Examiner* took advan-

tage of the volunteer labor of Lowell Bergman and they have a moral obligation to defend him whether he's treated as a reporter, a source, a collaborator, or tuna fish," says Henry Weinstein, a reporter who freelanced for *The New York Times* before joining the *Examiner* six months ago.

"He had a relationship with the paper and on that ground should be defended by them."

Larry Kramer, a close friend of Ramirez's, agrees. He insists that everyone at the paper wants the same thing — a united defense and a victory in the suit. But just who will present that defense — and who will pay for it — remains the question. ■

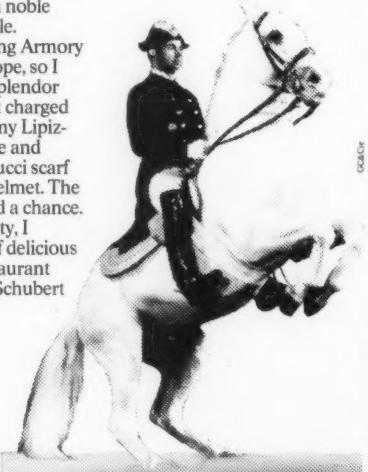
Contributions to the Bergman-Ramirez Defense Committee can be made c/o Media Alliance, 13 Columbus, San Francisco, Cal. 94111.

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Later, back to reality, I jostled over a carafe of delicious wine in an elegant restaurant and talked of Mozart, Schubert



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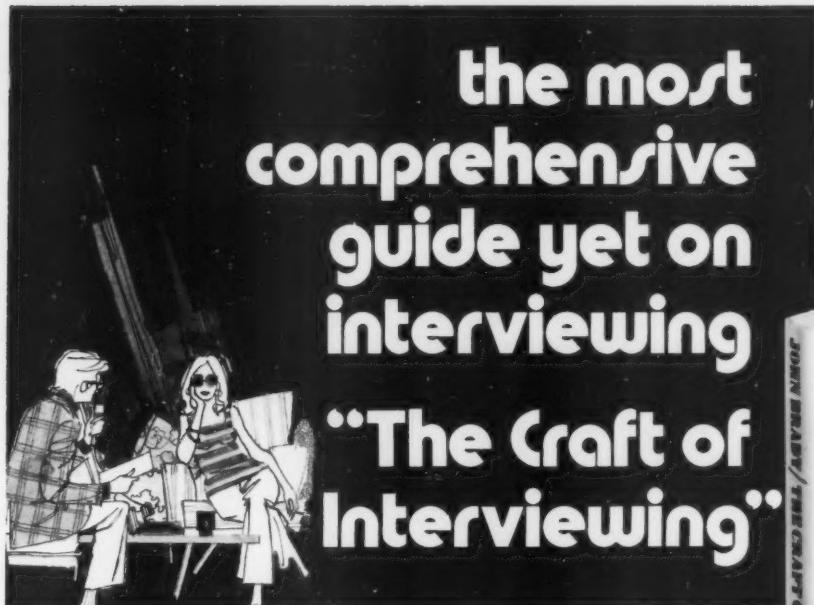
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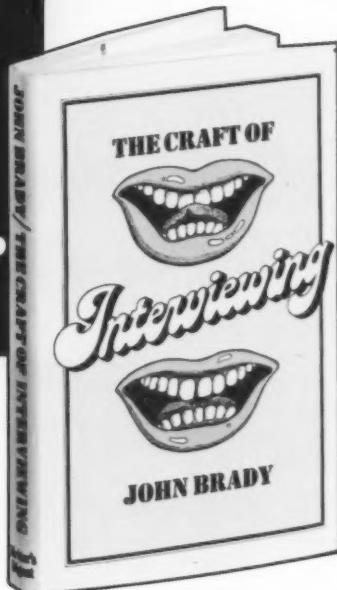
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FURTHERMORE

FLYNT'S OLD KENTUCKY HOME

Local Boy Remembered

Left the mines to see the world.

BY MARY LOU BROWN

There isn't much more for us to say about Hustler publisher Larry Flynt. We protested his prosecution. We deplore his conviction. If the First Amendment is to have any validity whatsoever, it must serve the hard cases and protect the Larry Flynts of this world.

One perspective, however, has been missing from the rhetoric surrounding the Flynt case—a sense of the people and the place that nurtured our most famous pornographer. Here then are some thoughts on the subject from Mary Lou Brown of Salyersville, Kentucky.

There are two types of people in Larry Flynt's hometown—those who go, and those who stay. Larry went. The cramped little town of Salyersville, Kentucky, lying in a floodplain near the headwaters of the Licking River, offered little to the boy whose ambitions and dreams soared beyond the leafy green Cumberland foothills of home.

Salyersville is a town that goes to church on Sunday and has the preacher home to a dinner of fried chicken and mashed potatoes afterward. It is a town of tent revivals in the summer, camp gatherings in the groves and graveyard "association" meetings with dinner-on-the-ground. It is a town that will

break the ice on the Licking to baptize you in January, if you have the misfortune to get "saved" in the wintertime; a town that will castigate and criticize your shortcomings but will never turn its back on one of its own.

You can't go bowling or dancing in Salyersville (pronounced sah [as in sad] yersville), nor can you step down to the corner for a drink. Salyersville is dry, dry, dry—voted so by local option. But bootleggers thrive in Magoffin County, most often with the help of elected officials, and there is standing room only in the jail on Sunday morning, after the Saturday night roisterers have been rounded up by the state, county and city police.

The town is always crowded; cedar shavings from the sharp knives of the whittlers are ankle deep on the courthouse steps, and tobacco spittle from the many chewers of "Days Work" dribbles from the railings. The men talk politics as they trade Tree Brand Bokars and Case XX's, fox hounds and coon hounds—and they talk about Larry Flynt.

Some teen-aged boys never have the urge to leave the confines of the hollows and creeks of Magoffin County—third poorest in the nation in President Johnson's 1964 poverty report. They stay put, content to spin their wheels at the "Custard," a local drive-in restaurant, sharing a clandestine bottle purchased from a bootlegger, ogling the girls or a copy of *Hustler*, and



Wide World

Larry Flynt—done in by the Buckeyes.

talking a little sex.

The average youth will drop out of school at 16, be married at 18, and be a father twice by the time he is 20. Food stamps and welfare payments hold no stigma, if you are lucky enough to know someone who can get you on the county dole. The pattern is set, sometimes for life.

For the restless ones with the urge to be up and away, the girls end up in Cincinnati or Dayton as factory workers, waitresses and domestics, and the boys either follow the girls or join the service. Larry Flynt joined the Navy and saw the world.

He came back to join his mother in Ohio, but don't believe that old canard about the Kentuckians streaming across the river in such numbers that they took Ohio without firing a shot. It never happened. Briarhoppers didn't have it easy with the Buckeyes. You had to prove yourself one of two ways: get rich or get educated. Or you could become so ploddingly average that you were indistinguishable from your neighbors, settling down in urbane, urban obscurity, and never, never say-

ing "hit" when you mean to say "it"—as Larry Flynt did the other morning on national television, thereby marking himself indelibly as a product of these hills, irrevocably and for all time.

Larry Flynt made his million. He would have made it anywhere; even, had he stayed, as a stripminer in eastern Kentucky.

Nobody in this town is against Larry Flynt. The great majority have never seen his magazine, or any magazine of its type. It is easy for the people here to believe in conspiracy; some still hold that Lyndon Johnson conspired with Lee Harvey Oswald and Jack Ruby to murder Kennedy that day in Dallas.

And it is easier still for the hometown folks to believe that the century-old feud between Briarhopper and Buckeye has surfaced once again; that a great conspiracy has been cooked up against that good ol' boy, Larry Flynt, by his old enemies there above the Mason-Dixon—and they are sure that if that boy hadn't been a Kentuckian, that Cincinnati court wouldn't have given him one day! ■

Mary Lou Brown writes the "Country Common-Tater" column for the Salyersville Independent.

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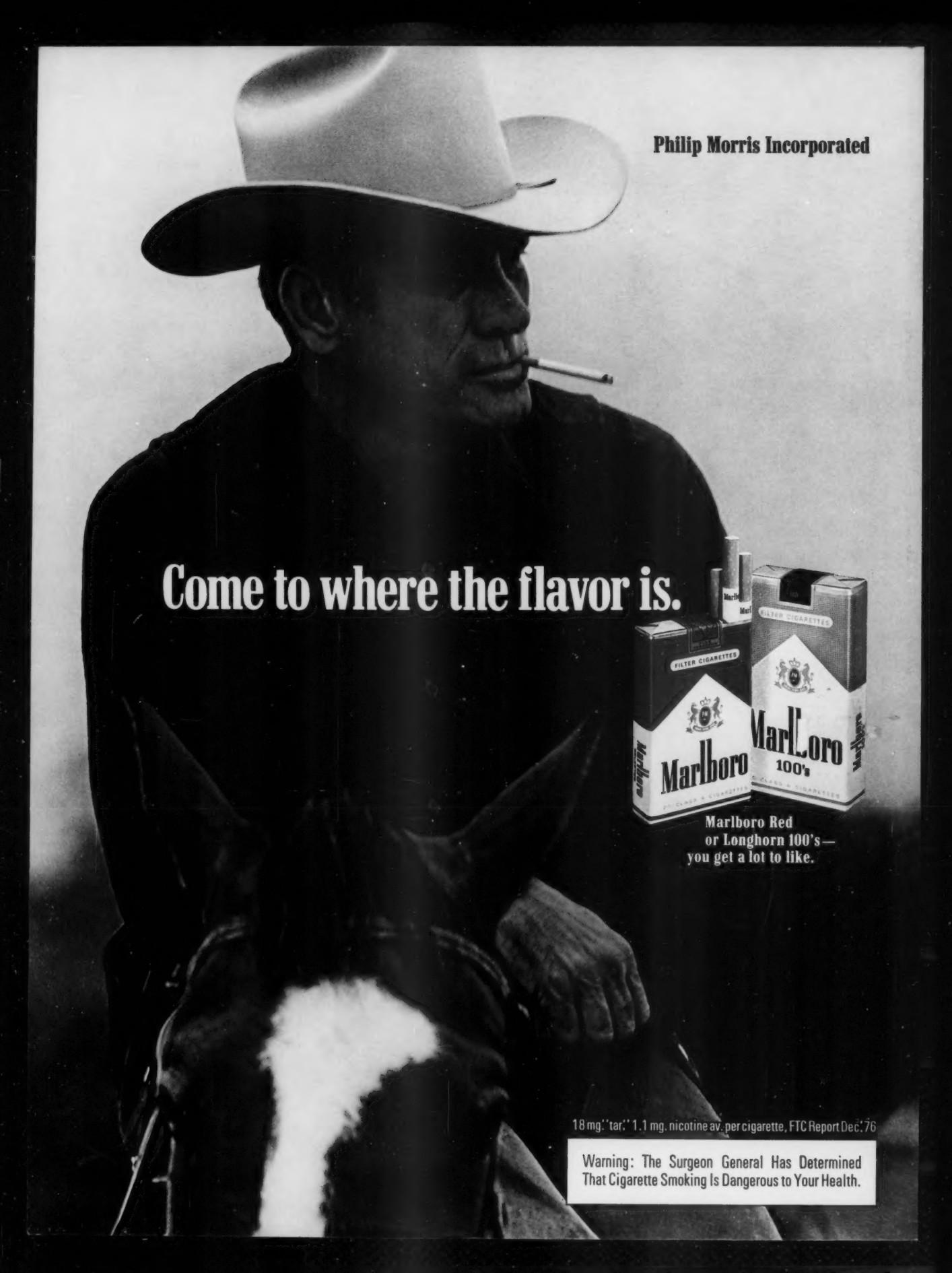


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